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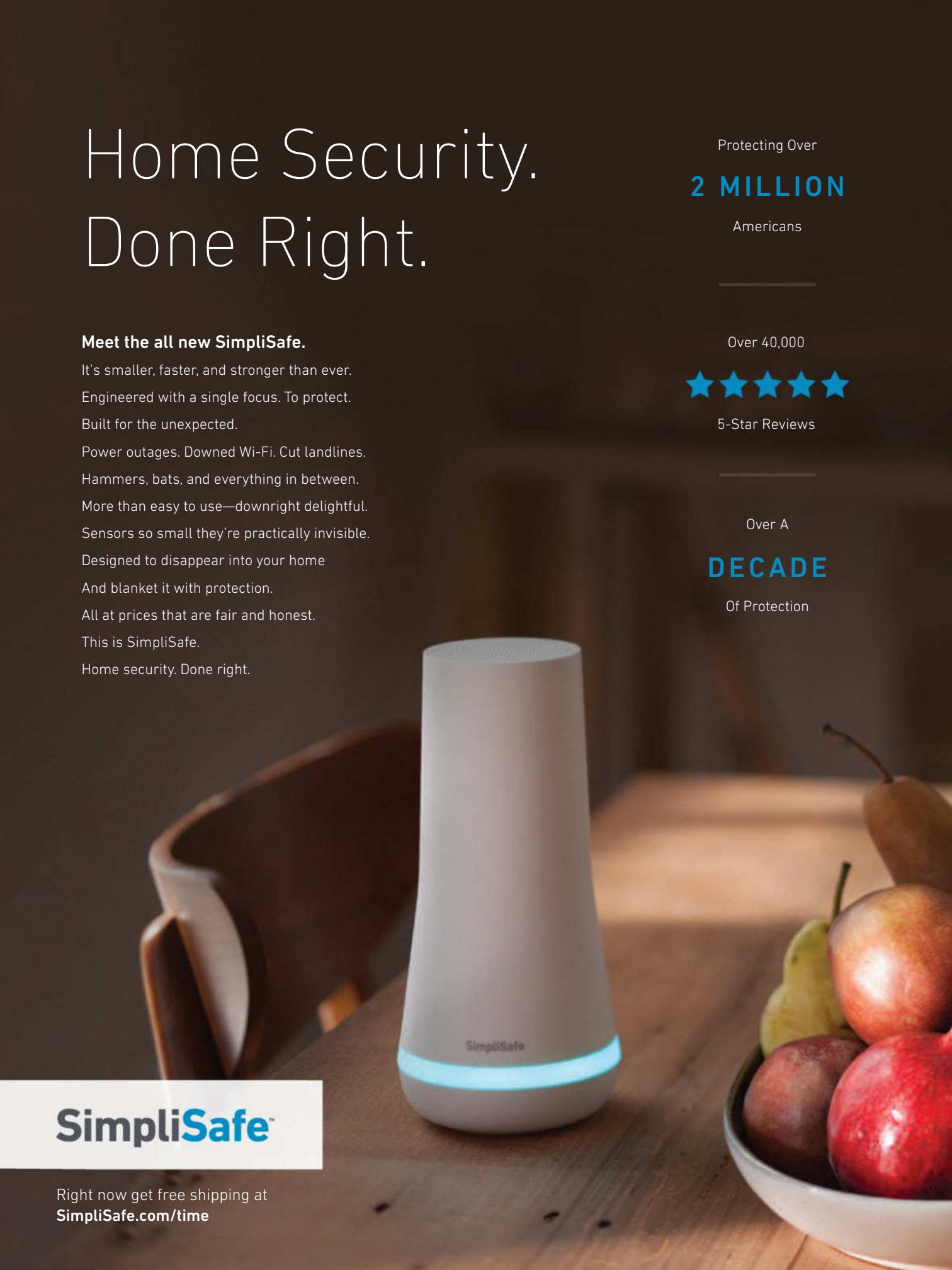

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One hundred life-size cutouts of Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg on the lawn of the U.S. Capitol on April 10 in Washington

Photograph by Zach Gibson—Getty Images

ON THE COVER: *Illustration by Tim O'Brien for TIME*

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WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE AUTOCRAT'S ASCENT The April 16 cover for Karl Vick's profile of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, which asked whether the world should buy what bin Salman is selling, drew strong opinions from supporters and opponents. Twitter user @HussamAAlsaleh1 summed up many responses with an enthusiastic "We believe him, we trust him," but others echoed Human Rights Watch executive director Kenneth Roth, who tweeted that the continued imprisonment of blogger Raif Badawi means that the crown prince is "a 'reformer' who wants to control any reform." Meanwhile, the *New Republic*'s Jeet Heer argued that the "hero's welcome" bin Salman got from the American press is its own answer to that question—to the point where "one wonders whether even the crown prince thought the sell would be this easy."

'I trust him with my life.'

@THESAUDIHAWK

AMERICAN DREAMER The young woman at the center of Charlotte Alter's April 16 story about an Ohio teen who is protected from deportation by the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program inspired many with her perseverance. Paul Stutz of Leland, N.C., wrote that the U.S. needs more people with such determination and fewer "spoiled slackers" who don't appreciate the opportunity that comes with citizenship. While William P. Alkire of San Jose, Calif., wrote that the "excellent" article didn't affect the reasons why he worries about undocumented immigration, it inspired Francis Piraino of Pocono Summit, Pa., to change her mind in support of "Dreamers" like the teen in the story.

'May she and the countless other #Dreamers continue to stay brave, be driven and never lose hope.'

MONICA PASTORES, Los Angeles

MARKET WATCH With a new interactive from TIME Labs, you can see how President Trump's tweets about companies have affected their stock prices. Click on a company's name—like Amazon, the target of a recent series of presidential jabs—to see a stock chart that shows the two weeks prior to and two weeks after a tweet critical of that firm. See them all at **time.com/tweet-stocks**

BEHIND THE COVER In nearly a century of publication, TIME has rarely revisited a cover concept—but this week's issue returns to an image that was first painted by Tim O'Brien for the Feb. 27, 2017, issue *(below, left)*. "I felt the storm metaphor was as relevant as ever," O'Brien says of his updated illustration.

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For the Record

'Our defense of the innocent unborn, for example, needs to be clear, firm and passionate ... Equally sacred, however, are the lives of the poor, those already born.'

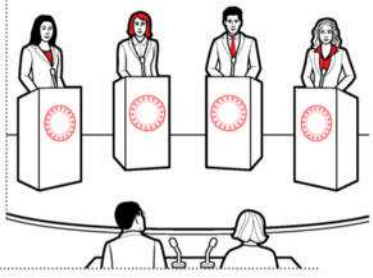
POPE FRANCIS,
in *Gaudete et Exsultate,* a guide to being a model believer in a materialistic world

'SALARIES SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS.'

STEPHEN REINHARDT,
U.S. Circuit Court judge, in a posthumously filed decision finding that the 1963 Equal Pay Act prohibits employers from using workers' prior salaries to justify gender disparities in pay

309

Number of women running for the U.S. House of Representatives as of April 5, a record for most female candidates for that office; the previous high was 298 in 2012



'We're about to have a baby. We're having a baby. We had a baby.'

SETH MEYERS,
comedian, recounting his conversation with a 911 operator as his wife Alexi Ashe gave birth to their son in the lobby of their New York City apartment building, on *Late Night With Seth Meyers*

'This fossil is just a piece of a whole skeleton, like a drop of rain. The rain is coming.'

AHMAD BAHAMEEM,
an author of a new study on a more than 85,000-year-old finger bone in Saudi Arabia's Nefud desert; possibly the first *Homo sapiens* fossil found on the peninsula, it suggests humans migrated out of Africa earlier than previously thought

'Maybe it feels fun for now, because we can eat candy all day and stay up late and not follow the rules.'

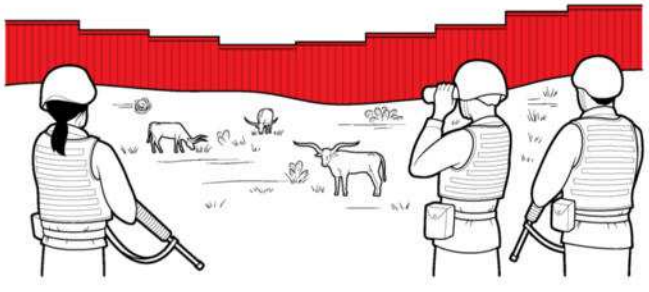
MICHELLE OBAMA,
former First Lady of the United States, comparing President Obama to a parent who "told you to eat your carrots" and President Trump to "the other parent" at the Simmons Leadership Conference in Boston

104 million

Number of passengers moved through Hartsfield-Jackson Atlanta International Airport in 2017, making it the world's busiest passenger airport, per Airports Council International's preliminary 2017 data

4,000

Estimated number of National Guard troops that Defense Secretary James Mattis approved to guard the U.S.-Mexico border, per President Trump's order



Strawberries
Study says they carry the most pesticide residue of non-organic fruits and veggies

Bananas
Study says they may reduce inflammation at least as well as sports drinks do

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

GONER
House Speaker Paul Ryan prepares to leave a job he never asked for

INSIDE

LONDON TRIES TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF A SCARY SPIKE IN ITS HOMICIDE RATE

POSTCARD FROM PU'ER: CHINA'S FAMOUS TEA REGION CONTEMPLATES COFFEE

TAMMY DUCKWORTH'S NEW BABY MARKS A MILESTONE FOR WOMEN IN THE U.S. SENATE

POLITICS

Speaker Paul Ryan's surprise exit

By Philip Elliott

HOUSE SPEAKER PAUL RYAN AND WHITE HOUSE chief of staff John Kelly made the obligatory small talk as they shared an elevator in a hotel in Austin in early April. They asked about each other's families, groused about allergy season and complained that hotels are always too air-conditioned. But hanging in the air between them, Ryan told friends, was a mutual sympathy for their shared burden: President Donald J. Trump. There wasn't much to say, really, or much to be done. Both have found working with the President to be an infinitely frustrating task. Both had resigned themselves to trying to limit the damage.

Washington has long simmered with talk that Kelly had reached a breaking point and was on his way out, but as it happened, it was Ryan who exited first. On April 11, Ryan strode to the podium at the Capitol and declared that he would not seek an 11th term representing his hometown in a southern corner of Wisconsin. True to form, Ryan put the most optimistic spin he could on the situation. "You realize that you hold the office for just a small part of our history, so you better make the most of it. It's fleeting, and that inspires you to do big things," he said.

But Ryan's departure marks a dangerous moment for his party. The 48-year-old Speaker was once the face of its future. Now his exit serves as a warning to House Republicans that they could well lose their majority in the fall elections. It sends a signal to conservatives that the real fight remains keeping control of the Senate. And it shows just how much the party is struggling in the Trump era.

RYAN'S TIME atop the House was never going to be easy; he didn't even want the job in the first place. Drafted into service in 2015 by strategists who thought he could bridge the chasm between the party's Establishment and activist wings in the wake of former Speaker John Boehner's surprise retirement, he accepted on the condition that he could spend most weekends at home with his children. "You can't take away my family," Ryan said at the time. That proved more difficult than Ryan had anticipated, and he again cited family in his retirement announcement. "My kids aren't getting any younger, and if I stay, they're only going to know me as a weekend dad. And that's just something I consciously can't do," he said at the Capitol.

Still, the speakership was an outlet for Ryan's ideological ambitions. As Mitt Romney's pick for Vice President in 2012, he never quite shook the bug for a presidential run of his own. He brushed off calls to join the race in 2016 but withheld his full-throated support for Trump's candidacy in part because he had a 2020 run of his own in mind. When Trump warned of riots at the Republican Convention if he wasn't the nominee and attacked a judge's Hispanic heritage, Ryan issued carefully worded criticism that showed his personal distaste for Trump and also his future ambitions.

Yet when Republicans picked Trump, Ryan did his best to make it work. He asked his staff to serve as tutors to the incoming White House team, including a *Schoolhouse Rock*–style seminar on how a bill becomes a law. Unlike Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell, Ryan made an effort to foster a friendship with the President. Ryan loyalists found jobs throughout the West Wing and the Administration, and through them Ryan kept tabs on what was coming from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Although he often disagreed with the President, he eventually declared a policy of not commenting on the "tweets of the day."

For every gain that came with sticking by Trump, however, there were setbacks. Last year's once-in-a-generation tax-cut package was something of a lifelong goal of Ryan's. But such triumphs were offset by frustrations such as the failure to repeal Obamacare as promised and near constant headaches from Trump's inattention to the legislative agenda.

The Trump presidency had already taken a toll before it claimed Ryan. The Speaker is the 45th House Republican to announce he won't seek re-election this year, and within a few hours another joined him. If Democrats net just 23 seats in the midterms—a fairly likely scenario—they will be able to thwart any further progress of the GOP agenda, provoke Trump and the Senate with their own bills and investigate the President's dealings more aggressively.

Some former Speakers, like Democratic Representative Nancy Pelosi, have stuck around after losing the majority to guide their parties in the wilderness. It's not surprising that Ryan would not have the stomach for that. As he retires, however, he leaves a party that will soon descend into chaos. The right and centrist flanks could soon break into open hostilities. Two of his deputies, Kevin McCarthy and mass-shooting survivor Steve Scalise, have been laying the groundwork for months to compete to succeed him. Ultraconservative Mark Meadows and pragmatist Cathy McMorris Rodgers may also eye a run.

That doesn't mean Ryan's life in politics is over. In his retirement announcement, Ryan said he had ideas for the future of the GOP. "I have more thoughts on this," he said, and "I'll share those thoughts later." How much later? With Washington sprinting to keep pace with Trump, Ryan isn't one to stay sidelined. ◻

Steve Scalise, left, and Kevin McCarthy are expected to vie to replace Ryan

PREVIOUS PAGE: AL DRAGO—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; SCALISE, MCCARTHY: GETTY IMAGES; LONDON: DAN KITWOOD—GETTY IMAGES

A forensics team searches a street where a man died after a robbery on April 4 in London; there were more murders in March in London than in any other month in over a decade

THE BULLETIN

London's murder rate spikes as police struggle with declining resources

MORE THAN 50 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED in London since the start of 2018, with stabbing being the main cause of death. For the first time in modern history, the city's murder rate in the months of February and March exceeded that of New York City, which has a similar population.

KNIFE-CRIME SURGES Murder rates in London had been experiencing a steady decline until 2015, when 25 more people were killed than had been during the previous year. Since then, waves of murders and knife attacks—including six separate stabbings, one with a 13-year-old victim, during a 90-minute period on April 5—have continued to alarm the British capital. In London, young men from minority communities have been disproportionately affected.

SHIFTING THE BLAME Central London was brought to a standstill on April 7 as thousands of young Brits gathered to protest the epidemic of violence. As the hashtags #BikeStormz and #BikesUpKnivesDown trended on Twitter, the demonstrators made a stand against knife crime while fighting the stereotype of "dangerous bike-riding gangs." Meanwhile, since the center-right Conservative Party came to power in 2015, the number of police officers has fallen by more than 20,000, and a leaked document from February suggested that government cuts had "likely contributed" to the rise in serious violent crime. London Mayor Sadiq Khan described the cuts as "not sustainable" for the city. Social media have also been blamed for glamorizing criminality.

WHAT NEXT London's Metropolitan Police has deployed 300 additional officers to the areas most affected by the attacks. Some politicians have advocated for an increased use of stop-and-search powers; others say those tactics damage trust in the police. And on April 9, the government unveiled a $57 million "Serious Violence" strategy, which will focus on early intervention, tougher law enforcement and a crackdown on city gangs delivering heroin and crack cocaine to rural towns. It did not mention the decline in police resources.

—KATE SAMUELSON

NEWS TICKER

Brazil's jailed leader to run for President

Former Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who **is serving a jail sentence for corruption,** will be registered as a presidential candidate in the October election, his Workers' Party announced, calling him a "political prisoner." Brazil's electoral court could still reject Lula's candidacy over his conviction.

Puerto Rico closing nearly 300 schools

The U.S. territory has suffered a **sharp drop in school enrollment** as it struggles to recover from Hurricane Maria. Its Department of Education said April 5 it would close 283 schools this summer. Thousands of families have left for the U.S. mainland after a long financial slump and the storm's destruction last year.

Australia to launch animal-cruelty hotline

Australia's Agriculture Minister announced a new hotline for people to report animal-welfare breaches, particularly on live-export ships. The news came after distressing video footage emerged of **thousands of sheep dying and rotting** on a ship sailing from Western Australia to Qatar.

NEWS TICKER

Surgeon General urges naloxone use

On April 5, U.S. Surgeon General Jerome Adams issued his office's first public-health advisory in 13 years, calling on Americans to **carry and learn to use naloxone,** the opioid-overdose antidote. The drug has saved thousands of lives when used by emergency responders and police officers.

Pakistan launches new polio drive

A weeklong polio-vaccination drive in Pakistan aims to reach all 38.7 million children under the age of 5 in the country, **one of only three left in the world where the disease is still endemic.** Cases of the paralyzing virus have been steadily declining there, with just one case reported so far in 2018.

Michigan: No more free water for Flint

Michigan will stop providing the city of Flint with **free bottled water** when the current supply runs out, the state's Republican Governor Rick Snyder said April 6. City officials denounced the move, saying residents don't trust that their water is safe after it became contaminated with toxic levels of lead in 2014.

POSTCARD

Coffee gains ground in China's tea-growing heartland

A DOZEN INTERNATIONAL COFFEE EXPERTS shuffle around a long wooden table, pausing at each steaming cup, heads dipping and sniffing deeply. Then the raucous slurping begins. In the wings, coffee farmer Yang Fan watches intently as the judges circle, awaiting a verdict on her latest crop of beans.

China may be the spiritual home of tea, but it is fast developing a reputation as a top coffee producer. This tasting was a side event to the first ever Pu'er International Specialty Coffee Expo in China's southwestern Yunnan province, which ran this winter and drew more than a thousand attendees, including industry aficionados from across the globe.

"Coffee has huge potential in China," says Liu Ying, who swapped her life working in private-equity investment in Beijing to grow coffee in Pu'er five years ago. "The younger generation prefer to drink coffee in their offices much more than tea."

Still, Pu'er remains synonymous with tea. This bustling town near the Laos border is surrounded by undulating green hills scored with tea plantations; it produces an eponymous variety of tea, considered one of China's most refined.

But the region's temperate climate is also perfect for growing arabica coffee. And as China's fast-living millennials move away from traditional tea in favor of the invigorating jolt of coffee, Pu'er's farmers are catering to the demand. Yunnan accounts for 98% of China's coffee harvest, with half coming from the mist-shrouded landscape around Pu'er. Today, China is the 13th biggest coffee producer in the world—rising from zero output three decades ago to 136,000 tons annually today.

In April, Seattle's annual Specialty Coffee Expo decided to showcase China as its portrait country of origin. It follows on the heels of Starbucks' launching its first single-origin Yunnan coffee last year after eight years of partnership with Yunnan farmers.

With global coffee prices at record lows, Yunnan farmers are processing beans in bespoke ways to create distinct flavors and aromas—allowing them to enter the market of specialty coffee. "At current coffee prices, I can't even feed my family," says the farmer Yang. "My only way out is to produce specialty coffee, to make the best coffee beans."

That means letting beans dry in their cherries, thus imparting a wild, fruity flavor via environmental fermentation. Or allowing them to "honey" in their sugary inner mucilage layer, which adds a subtle sweetness.

Back in the tasting room, Yang awaits the experts' verdict on whether all that extra effort was worthwhile. "If I told you this was Colombian or Panama coffee, nobody would argue with me," says Samuel Gurel, CEO of Pu'er's Torch Coffee Roasters, as Yang breaks into a huge grin. "It's a great example of how Chinese coffee is evolving."

—CHARLIE CAMPBELL, *with reporting by Zhang Chi/Pu'er, China*

HEALTH

Doctor's orders

Colorado legislators are pushing to allow anyone with autism to use medical marijuana. Other states have recently expanded their programs to include certain conditions. —*Abigail Abrams*

ANXIETY
New Jersey announced March 27 the expansion of its medical-marijuana program to include anxiety, along with four other conditions. Governor Phil Murphy said reforms would reduce patient and caregiver fees.

SLEEP APNEA
Minnesotans with obstructive sleep apnea will be able to use medical marijuana starting this summer, the state's health department said in November. The state also added autism to its list of conditions.

PTSD
In November 2017, New York Governor Andrew Cuomo signed a law making posttraumatic stress disorder the 12th condition approved on his state's list of eligible ailments, which includes chronic pain.

DIED
Former Senator **Daniel Akaka,** who represented Hawaii for 36 years, on April 6 at 93. The Democrat advocated for the U.S. to recognize Asian Americans who fought in World War II.

› **Isao Takahata,** co-founder of the Japanese animation company Studio Ghibli *(Spirited Away),* on April 5 at 82. The studio has produced some of the highest-grossing anime films ever.

FINALIZED
A $25 million **settlement between President Trump and former students** of his shuttered Trump University, by a federal judge. Students said they were misled about the value of the education provided; Trump has admitted no wrongdoing.

ARRESTED
Priest and former diplomat **Monsignor Carlo Alberto Capella,** by the Vatican, on suspicion of possessing child pornography.

DEFEATED
A proposition requiring people in Anchorage to use **bathrooms that match the sex on their birth certificates**—the first "bathroom bill" to go directly before voters in the U.S.

HARVESTED
The first **vegetables grown in Antarctica** without soil, daylight or pesticides. Scientists are developing the plants there with the aim of one day growing crops on another planet.

MARIJUANA: GETTY IMAGES; DUCKWORTH: SCOTT OLSON—GETTY IMAGES

Duckworth is one of 10 women—and the first Senator—to have a baby while serving in Congress

BORN

A daughter of the Senate

Tammy Duckworth becomes the first U.S. Senator to give birth while in office

IN THE MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES SINCE CONGRESS FIRST convened, 1,974 people have served as U.S. Senators, but there were no women in that group until 1922, when Rebecca Latimer Felton was appointed. And it wasn't until this year that a Senator gave birth while holding office. It's no surprise that the first woman to reach this milestone was Senator Tammy Duckworth, who delivered her second child, Maile Pearl, on April 9.

This is not the only first for the 50-year-old Duckworth: she was a helicopter pilot in the U.S. Army and became the first female double amputee of the Iraq War when she lost both legs in combat. She then became the first disabled woman elected to Congress from any state and the first Asian-American woman to represent Illinois. And while Duckworth isn't the first mom in the Senate, she's among the strongest advocates of family legislation like paid parental leave and workplace accommodations for nursing mothers—including in Congress, where there is no official maternity-leave policy for Senators. Duckworth says she'll take this opportunity to highlight the needs of working mothers, noting: "As tough as juggling the demands of motherhood and being a Senator can be, I'm hardly alone or unique as a working parent." —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

THE CEO REPORT

When artificial intelligence gets to work

By Alan Murray

DISCUSSIONS OF THE WORKplace impacts of artificial intelligence often focus on potential lost jobs or apocalyptic scenarios. But the authors of the new book *Human + Machine: Reimagining Work in the Age of AI,* Accenture's Paul R. Daugherty and H. James Wilson, see the glass as decidedly more than half full. The benefits of the new tech and the jobs it will create, they argue, more than offset any downsides.

But Daugherty and Wilson foresee a significant challenge retraining workers for those new jobs. Government, they say, is not focused on that challenge, and business isn't doing enough to meet it. Moreover, an education system built around four-year degrees may not be a good fit for a world requiring continuous retraining in new skills.

They predict that a majority of new jobs will not be strictly technical in nature but rather will focus on ensuring smart and responsible use of AI—the training, explaining and sustaining of the algorithms. Such jobs will require basic understanding of the new technology but also human judgment and empathy to both guide it and explain it to those it affects.

And this moment is a particularly teachable one. In the age of AI, Daugherty and Wilson predict, virtually every big company will find itself where Facebook is this month: being held responsible for how it does just that.

Murray is the president of Fortune

Comedian, writer and actor **Amy Schumer** stands up for more than just laughs

By Eliza Berman

AMY SCHUMER WROTE HER COLLEGE THESIS ON the male gaze. Fifteen years later, she struggles to conjure the details. Did her subjects include *Madame Bovary*? *Some Like It Hot*? Particulars aside, she's been inspecting the ups and downs of womanhood in her comedy ever since, right down to her latest project, the movie *I Feel Pretty,* out April 20. Schumer plays a woman who wishes she looked like a supermodel—and after sustaining a head injury in a SoulCycle class, she wakes up believing she's got Cindy Crawford looks. Her newfound confidence allows her to flourish in some ways, but it also makes her lose sight of herself. Schumer plays this cocky bravado to great comedic effect, and she sees the movie as a serious response to the unremitting notion that women try to locate their self-worth in physical beauty. "I was always like that, at 5 years old, just demanding equality," she says. "I thought it could all be fixed if you called attention to it."

She's telling me about little Amy in a New York City hotel suite where the handle to the bathroom door looks as if it belongs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's silver collection. On a table across the room is a wine glass, inexplicably filled with red rose petals. As Schumer puts it, "This is totally an affair hotel." Upon arriving fresh from an interview with Howard Stern, she kicks off her skyscraping suede boots, props herself up on a pillow and—because it's just us and this is what women do when men aren't around to raise an eyebrow—unbuttons her pants, post–Thanksgiving dinner style.

It's been a busy few years for Schumer, 36. She wrote and starred in the 2015 comedy *Trainwreck,* picking up a Golden Globe nomination for acting; released the best-selling book *The Girl With the Lower Back Tattoo* in 2016; and in 2017 made her Broadway debut in a play by Steve Martin. But before all of that, on four seasons of her Peabody- and Emmy-winning sketch-comedy show *Inside Amy Schumer,* she served up incisive satirical takes on the torments of modern womanhood. One of her most viral sketches, "Girl, You Don't Need Makeup," parodies One Direction's "What Makes You Beautiful." The original song purports to be about female empowerment while insidiously rewarding low self-esteem. In the spoof, a gaggle of fresh-faced lads encourage Schumer to remove all her makeup, then change their minds upon seeing the result: "I didn't know that your lashes were so stubby and pale/ Just a little mascara and you'll look female."

I Feel Pretty, written and directed by Abby Kohn and Marc Silverstein, feels tailor-made for a performer who has spent years examining body image. "I would love to see a time in the near future where it's not a special issue when they have someone who's above a size 4 or a woman of color on a magazine," she says. (In 2016, *Glamour* included her in a special plus-size fashion issue; she wrote on social media that she hadn't been told about the theme.) When her character learns a hard-won lesson about where her value lies (hint: it's not her appearance), the message is quickly co-opted by the company she works for to sell makeup. If some viewers are put off by this brand-driven empowerment, Schumer understands. She herself has joked in the past about Dove, whose "Real Beauty" campaign, featuring ordinary women, she says amounts to "patting themselves on the back, like, 'Can you believe how brave we are for putting these f-cking dump trucks on television?'"

"It's not a perfect movie," she says of *I Feel Pretty,* which she also produced. "It would be great if my role had been played by a woman of color and there were more trans people in it, more people with disabilities." She readjusts the pillow behind her. "But it's a step in the right direction, I hope."

A FEW DAYS EARLIER, at the Comedy Cellar in Greenwich Village, Schumer takes the stage and introduces herself to the audience as a "very famous model." Wearing a New York City uniform of head-to-toe black, with her blond hair pulled back in a jaunty ponytail, she surveys the crowd and revises her bio. "Actually, I'm a bag of mashed potatoes." As Schumer told Jimmy Kimmel last fall, this description of her body—which, she adds, totally made her crave mashed potatoes—came to her care of an Internet troll.

Back in the hotel suite, she tells me, "A big part of becoming a funny person was a major defense mechanism. Onstage, especially as a woman, I've had to be really tough. The second you show a crack, the audience can literally leave." When she started out as a comic, her goal was simply to coax laughter, and her bawdy humor—riffs on one-night stands and Internet porn—did just that. Eventually, she began to see comedy as an opportunity to inform audiences about issues she cared about. A writer later described her show as "sneaking shaved carrots into brownies," she recalls, and the notion of a stealth agenda stuck with her.

Right now, though, she's more interested in talking about overt agendas. She became a gun-control activist three years ago after a gunman opened fire at a showing of *Trainwreck* in Lafayette, La., killing two women. She's also part of the

SCHUMER QUICK FACTS

Cousins with a cause
Her cousin Chuck Schumer, the New York Senator, helped her get involved in gun-control advocacy after a shooting at a showing of her movie *Trainwreck.*

Directing dreams
She'd like to return to the director's chair after filming several TV episodes and a comedy special.

Theater studies
Schumer studied acting at the William Esper Studio, which counts among its alumni Kathy Bates and Larry David.

NICHOLAS PFOSI—THE BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES

Time's Up initiative, which was organized in the wake of Hollywood's sexual-abuse scandals. "Is this the biggest bummer of an interview?" she asks, aware that her monologue about the "nightmare" that is the Trump Administration (Schumer was an outspoken Clinton supporter) is not what readers might expect from one of today's most reliable purveyors of laughs. She's so bummed out by the political climate, she says, "I've been doing less standup, just because it's not funny." At one point in our conversation, tears come to her eyes.

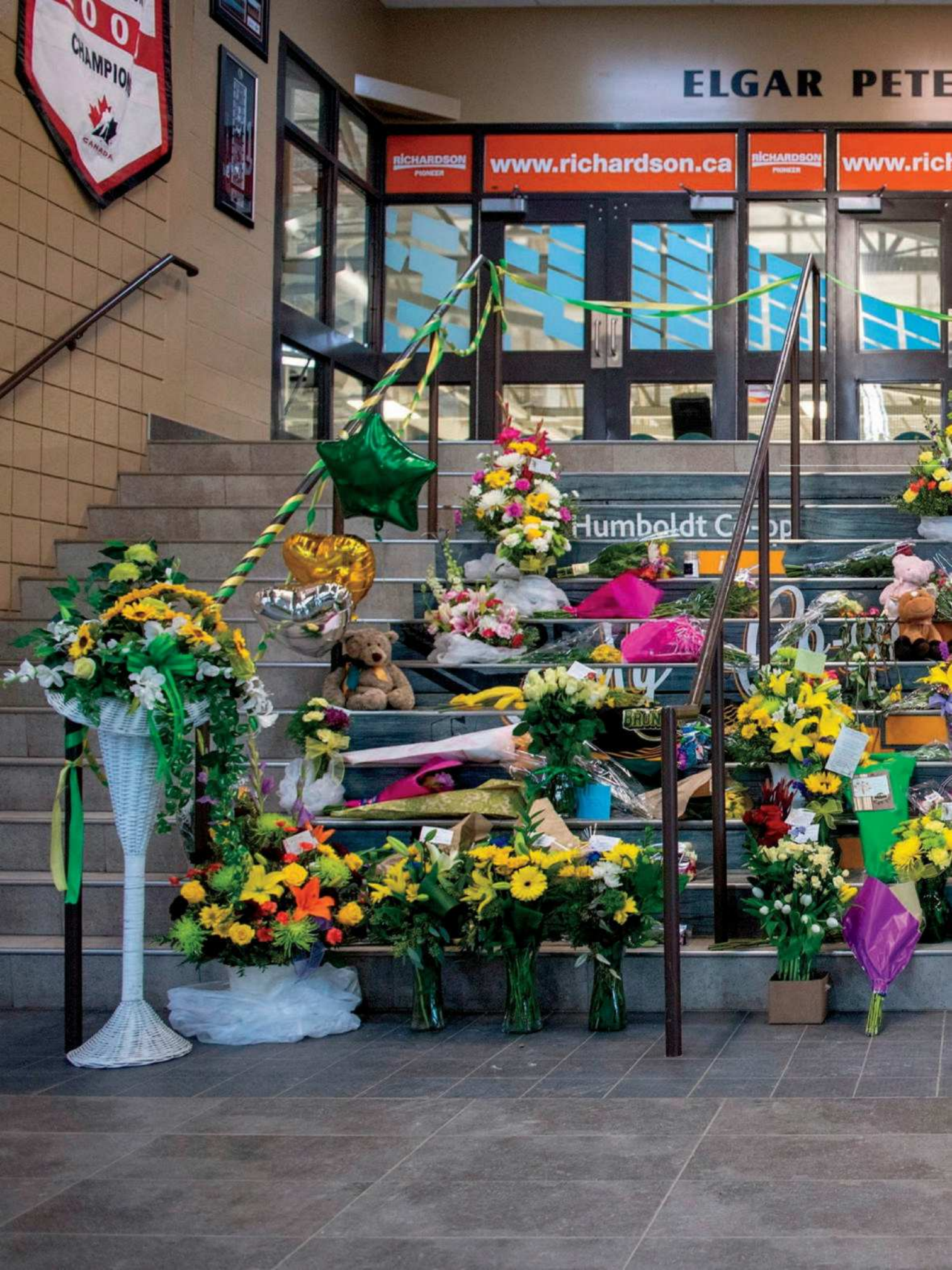
She knows speaking out about political issues will directly impact her career. It's happened before, when so-called alt-right activists organized to rate her Netflix special poorly. "There will be a movement on Reddit to try and get the movie voted down, to actually hurt me," she says. "But I'm not going to let that slow me down." She's taking it upon herself to call out harmful behavior when she sees it. Just the other day, she corrected a male interviewer who called her a "lady boss," calmly explaining that she'd rather just be called a boss.

She gets called out herself sometimes—an occupational hazard for a comedian for whom few subjects are off-limits. She recalls a 2016 tribute she made to Beyoncé's song "Formation," sanctioned by Beyoncé and released on Jay-Z's streaming platform, Tidal, which was criticized as a white feminist's tone-deaf response to an anthem of black female pride. "I knew what my intention was, but the intention didn't really matter, and it upset people," she says. "I've learned a lot since then. I don't want to hurt anybody … I really am a chick from Long Island who's just learning along with everyone. So whatever sh-t comes out of my mouth—and I f-ck up all the time—just know that I'm trying my best."

'I really am a chick from Long Island who's just learning along with everyone.'

AMY SCHUMER, on her evolution as an activist

After our interview, the elevator ferrying us to the lobby of the "affair" hotel stops, and two men in suits walk in. One stands with his back inches from Schumer's face, like something out of *Candid Camera*. "Sir, that's a little close," she says, firmly but politely. He startles, apparently unaware of the intrusion. "A little personal space, please," she adds. Not every fight is the Battle of Gettysburg. But for Schumer, even the little things are worth calling attention to. ☐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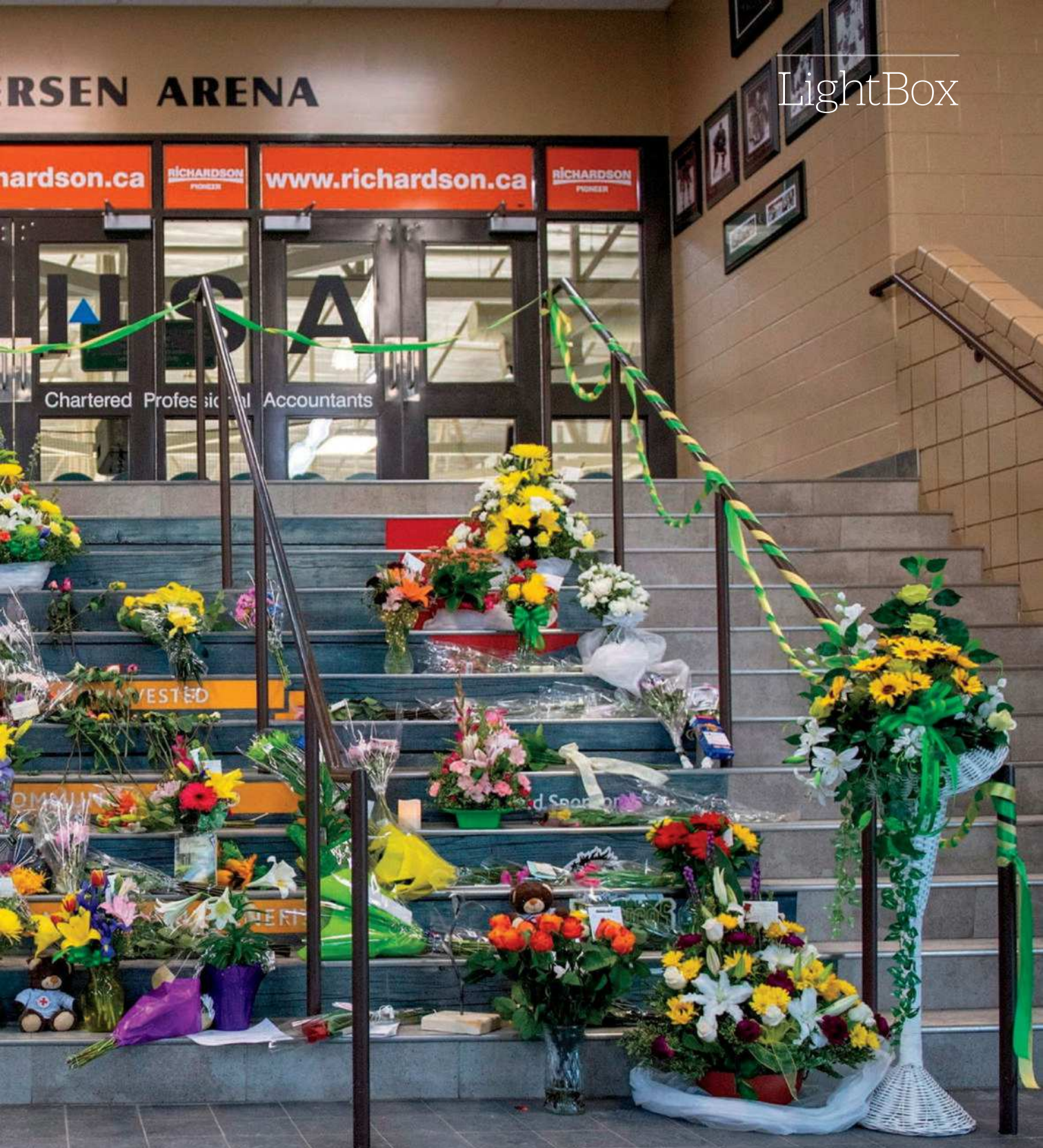

Memorial hall

Flowers rest on the stairs to the Elgar Petersen Arena in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, on April 8 as the small Canadian community reels from a bus crash that left 15 dead. Two days earlier, authorities said, a tractor trailer collided with a bus carrying the Saskatchewan Junior Hockey League's Humboldt Broncos to a playoff game. Among those killed were 10 players and two coaches, plus the team's statistician and radio announcer and the bus driver. Fourteen others were hurt.

Photograph by Liam Richards—The Canadian Press/AP

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✓Yes

✓Yes

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The View

NATION

THE RISING POLITICAL POWER OF FED-UP WOMEN

By Molly Ball

Amber Spradlin tolerated the indignities of public-school teaching for 13 years, but now she has had enough. "We have tried so many different things, so many different avenues, to advocate for our students," she says. "Finally, we were saying, 'We're not going to take this anymore.'"

INSIDE

HOW A DECISIVE ELECTION IN HUNGARY WILL HAVE BROADER IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

FORMER U.S. VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE DISCUSSES PRESIDENT TRUMP AND KIM JONG UN

Spradlin, a sixth-grade English teacher in Choctaw, Okla., was at the state capitol in Oklahoma City on April 9, missing her sixth day of work in order to demand more school funding. She's part of a wave of teacher actions that has lately swept Republican-led states, as well as an example of this moment's political archetype: a woman who is fed up and ready to do something about it.

Fed-up women have been driving the political cycle since November 2016. The January 2017 Women's March is believed to have been the largest single-day protest in U.S. history. Record numbers of women are running for office, with many citing the 2016 election as a spur to action. The #MeToo movement has emboldened women across industries to speak up against sexual harassment and misconduct. Women have been major drivers of protests on health care and gun control. If Democrats score big in November's midterm elections, as most prognosticators believe they will, angry women will be the reason.

THE TEACHERS who have gone on strike in Oklahoma and elsewhere are not all women and have not branded their campaign as a women's issue, but the numbers speak for themselves. Seventy-seven percent of public-school teachers are women, according to the National Center for Education Statistics. The idea that teaching is "women's work" is also part of the reason the profession is chronically underpaid, says Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers union.

The current strikes began in West Virginia in February, when a grassroots groundswell begot a nine-day walkout and ended with a 5% raise. In Oklahoma, teachers already won a raise but strikers say they won't return to work without more overall school funding too. In Kentucky, teachers have swarmed the capitol and some districts have shut down to protest a bill reducing pension benefits. On April 11, teachers in Arizona stepped into the fray, staging demonstrations after the state's governor, Doug Ducey, rejected a 20% raise.

The wave may not stop there. Several other states have the ingredients—from spending cuts to labor laws—that have contributed to the strikes, and rumblings have already begun in North Carolina.

The conditions that have led to the strikes have shocked even education experts. In 39 states, teachers' salaries have declined since 2010; many are also being asked to pay more for benefits, reducing their take-home pay even as private-sector wages rise. Strikers have called attention to crumbling classrooms, ancient textbooks, crowded conditions and teachers who work multiple jobs to get by. "Many states' budgets have mostly recovered from the Great Recession, but not all of them resumed their levels of investment in education," says Michael Hansen, an education-policy scholar at the Brookings Institution.

The teachers have taken pains to paint their movement as a nonpartisan one, but their targets are the Republican governors and legislatures whose zeal for cutting taxes and spending has led to the funding crunch. And their leverage over lawmakers is the threat of revenge at the polls if they don't get what they want.

There are already signs that women's activism is powering Democrats. Virginia's new Democratic governor won votes from women by a wider margin than Hillary Clinton, and Democrat Doug Jones' December upset in Alabama was powered by a 16-point advantage among women. The percentage of women who identify with the Democratic Party has risen 4 points since 2015, according to the Pew Research Center; among millennial women, the increase is 14 points. Amanda Carpenter, a conservative commentator and consultant, says the GOP should be worried. "How can you have a conversation with women voters when your party supports Trump?" she says.

States like Oklahoma aren't likely to go purple soon. But 36 states—two-thirds of them Republican-led—have gubernatorial elections this fall. If the teachers are any indication, the pink wave could wash over them all.

Spradlin, the Oklahoma teacher, says she takes home about $1,900 per month and dips into that money for many classroom supplies. After years of frustration watching politicians fail to act, she says, it feels good to take matters into her own hands. "All the teachers and students," she says, "are here saying, 'We're not leaving.'" ◻

Randi Weingarten speaks in Washington on Jan. 9, 2017 ›

READING LIST

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

A better way to debate politics

Sally Kohn used to be a liberal commentator for Fox News, "the most prominent den of American conservatism," as she puts it. In an excerpt from her new book, *The Opposite of Hate,* she offers **three tips she's learned for disagreeing with someone:** affirm, bridge and convince.

The anger in crowd-based capitalism

NYU business professor Arun Sundararajan writes that the April 3 shooting at YouTube's headquarters **reflects a deepening resentment in the digital workforce** as more people seek to make a living from online platforms and their algorithms without being formal employees of the companies.

Encouraging gratitude in a thankless era

For any parent who has ever struggled with a grumpy, ungrateful child, *How to Raise Kind Kids* author Thomas Lickona offers **five ways to foster thankfulness in your family.** One way to start is with what he calls the "no-complaints challenge."

WEINGARTEN: CLIFF OWEN—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; MONDALE: WIN MCNAMEE—GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT

The re-election of Hungary's far-right leader should worry Europe

By Ian Bremmer

VIKTOR ORBAN AND Fidesz, his party, won a landslide victory on April 8 that gives them a supermajority of seats in Hungary's parliament. Polls underestimated the party's support, and turnout was higher than many expected, at a near record 69%. Orban, who will now serve a third consecutive four-year term as Prime Minister, ran almost his entire campaign on fear of migrants and grievance toward the E.U. over refugee quotas. And with Fidesz's winning a two-thirds majority in parliament, Orban will no doubt become more confrontational with the European leadership in Brussels.

Orban's win marks a victory for his brand of "illiberal democracy," which represents a direct challenge to E.U. rules and values. It's a system of limited checks and balances in which the law exists mainly to protect the leaders and their mandate. Judges and journalists are expected to promote and protect the rights and choices of those who win elections. To criticize or block the agenda of elected officials is to undermine the will of the people.

Orban, who has championed illiberal democracy, will be building his next government over the next few weeks. His supermajority will allow him to amend the country's constitution, and he will move quickly to undermine the independence of the courts. In May, Fidesz could pass the controversial "Stop Soros" law, named for civil-society activist and Hungarian native George Soros, which could effectively ban the work of NGOs without government approval, notably ones that support migration and pose a "national-security risk."

Orban will become even more aggressive in attacking the media. Business leaders who don't support his agenda will face new pressures. He will double down on his bid to close the Soros-founded Central European University, where anti-Orban protests have become common.

But it's the question of migrants that has come to define Orban's political persona. In September 2015, as hundreds of thousands of people flowed from the Middle East and North Africa toward Europe, E.U. interior ministers approved a plan to relocate 120,000 migrants across the Continent to help ease the burden on countries like Greece and Italy, despite dissenting votes from Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania. Although the small populations of these countries meant they were asked to accept relatively small numbers of migrants, Orban and others immediately objected.

Orban's win marks another victory for his brand of 'lliberal democracy,' which represents a direct challenge to E.U. values

After the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks in Paris in 2015, Orban promised to "keep Hungary as Hungary." As a candidate, Orban warned of "infiltration by Islamic invaders." That strategy seems to be working, and fresh from a landslide victory, Orban will continue to insist that Hungary, where less than 6% of the population is foreign-born, will never admit migrants "with different cultural characteristics and backgrounds."

Orban may also move to write rejection of the E.U. quota system into Hungary's constitution. In response, the E.U. could cut funds to Hungary from the union's next budget. But tougher punishments, like stripping the country of its E.U. voting rights, require a unanimous vote from E.U. members, and East European states aligned with Hungary will vote no.

Hungary, Poland and (probably) Italy will now have Euroskeptic governments that can undermine a push by France's Macron and Germany's Merkel to reform the euro zone, manage relations with Russia and find a lasting solution to the migrant crisis. The union's East-West divisions are becoming harder to ignore. □

QUICK TALK

Walter Mondale

The former politician served as U.S. Vice President from 1977 to 1981.

The Trump Administration has seen a lot of turnover. President Carter famously purged his Cabinet in '79. What lessons can we learn from that? Carter was a great President, and I love him, but those purges gave the impression that we were falling apart, and we had to work doubly hard in the next years to demonstrate to the American people that we were on top of the White House. Maybe that's a good story for all of us to read together: how expensive those policies could be.

You co-sponsored the Fair Housing Act, which passed 50 years ago. What can be done to enforce it better? There's been a struggle to get the act recognized as real law. It has made significant progress possible, but we're not there yet.

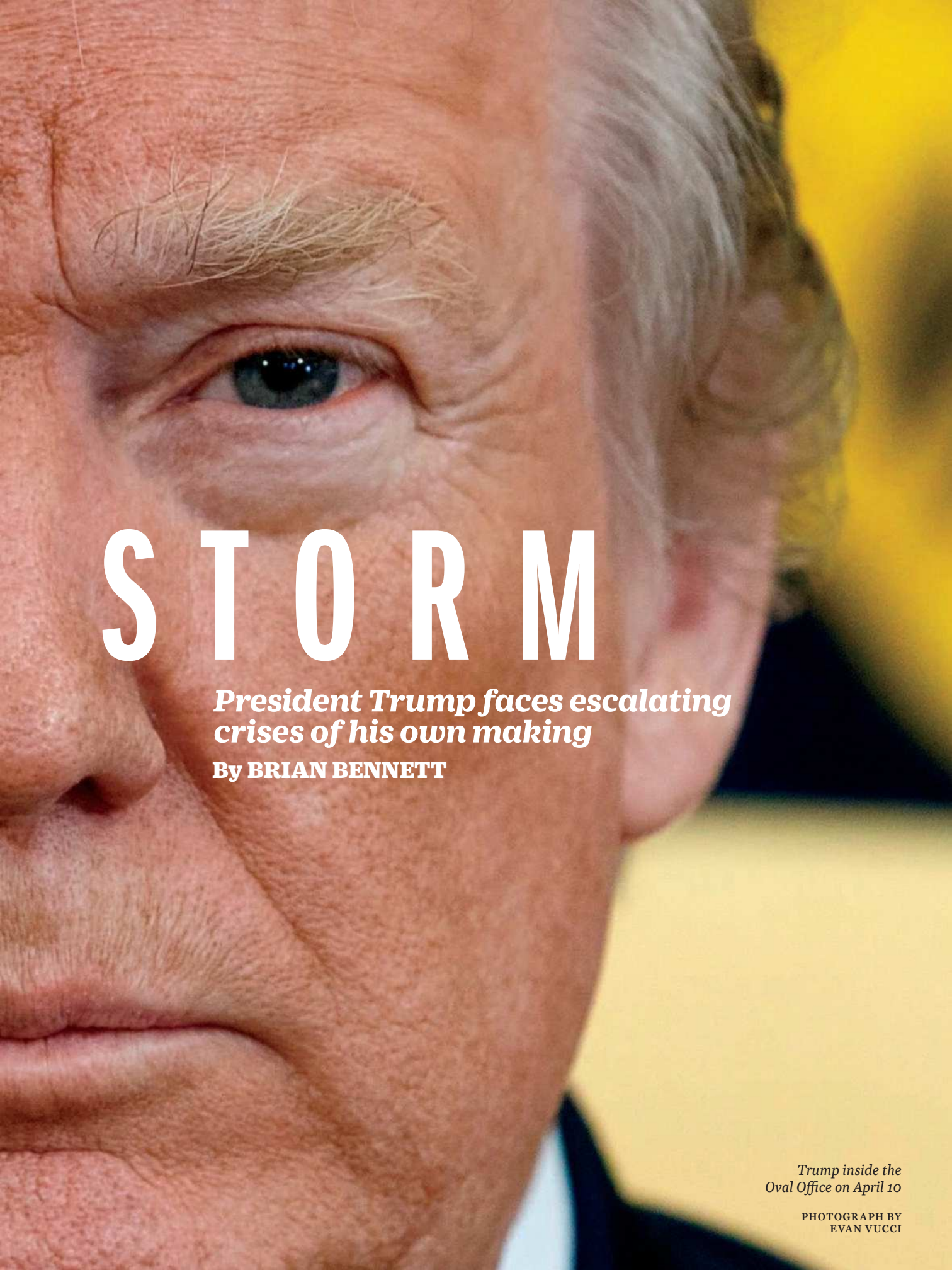
What are you following in the news? The North Korean leader. He's a brutal dictator, and we've got our President—intemperate, uninformed—and they're going to meet. I hope something good comes out of it. I keep reading that Kim Jong Un is going to give up nuclear weapons. I am very skeptical.

—Olivia B. Waxman

Mondale in Washington on Jan. 3

Politics

PERFECT



STORM

President Trump faces escalating crises of his own making

By BRIAN BENNETT

Trump inside the Oval Office on April 10

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI

AS THE SUN WAS SETTING ON THE EVENING of April 9, President Donald Trump gathered the Vice President, senior military leaders and his newly minted National Security Adviser around the long wooden table in the Cabinet Room to discuss one of the gravest decisions any Commander in Chief can make: whether to use military force against a foreign threat. The Syrian government had allegedly used chemical weapons on a town near Damascus, killing at least 40 innocent civilians, violating international law and crossing a strategic red line Trump himself had drawn nearly a year earlier.

But the President had something else on his mind. "So I just heard that they broke into the office of one of my personal attorneys," he said, unprompted, after reporters were ushered into the room. "Here we are talking about Syria," Trump groused, "and I have this witch hunt constantly going on." His generals looking on stiffly, Trump launched into a jaw-dropping diatribe against the nation's highest law-enforcement officers—all appointees of his—and the FBI for its raids earlier in the day of his lawyer's home, office and hotel room. Trump called the searches "disgraceful" and "an attack on our country."

Trump got the legal facts of the raids wrong—they had been conducted under warrants approved by a federal judge—but clearly appreciated the magnitude of the moment. It is rare for authorities to seize evidence of potential crimes from any lawyer's office. It is all but unheard of to do it from the personal attorney of the sitting President of the United States.

The raids were reportedly related to alleged payments by Trump's personal lawyer and longtime fixer, Michael Cohen, to the pornographic film actor Stephanie Clifford, who performs as Stormy Daniels. She claims to have had a consensual affair with Trump in 2006. The FBI was also reportedly looking for information about Cohen's possible role in brokering a deal between American Media Inc., which owns the *National Enquirer,* and 1998 *Playboy* Playmate of the Year Karen McDougal, who told friends she had an affair with Trump around the same time.

What has long seemed like an ugly but ultimately inconsequential saga in the life of this unorthodox public figure has become a legal and political thicket. Much as how Paula Jones' harassment case against Bill Clinton helped drive his impeachment and the seizure of Anthony Weiner's laptop led the FBI to reopen its probe of Hillary Clinton, Trump's personal history now may threaten his presidency. In politics as in life, the highest falls often come from the basest origins. "It is a President under siege," says Julian Zelizer, a political historian at Princeton University.

It is not yet clear whether the Cohen raids were directly linked to special counsel Robert Mueller's larger investigation of possible collusion between the Trump presidential campaign and Russia. Cohen's lawyer—and it's telling that Trump's own counsel now needs a lawyer—said Mueller had referred the Cohen investigation to the Manhattan U.S. Attorney's office, which oversaw the raid. But to get the warrant from a judge to raid the offices of an attorney, let alone that of the President, nearly all legal experts agree, would have required extraordinary evidence that the FBI might

Cohen has long been Trump's fixer, but now he's become a problem

PREVIOUS PAGES: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK; ABOVE: WILLIAM FARRINGTON—POLARIS

uncover crimes there. Among the roster of possible offenses the FBI was looking for, according to the Washington *Post,* were campaign-finance violations for the payoffs, bank fraud and wire fraud. Cohen and his lawyer both denied any wrongdoing.

All of which might simply be unseemly if it didn't constitute a circus taking place around the most powerful person on earth. The U.S. President decides the fates of millions of people, and this April he faces multiple crises. Trump has launched an economy-rattling trade fight with China that could have massive consequences on the daily lives of most Americans. In a matter of weeks, he is scheduled to hold a face-to-face meeting with a nuclear-armed tyrant in North Korea who has threatened to destroy Washington. All the while, the Mueller probe moves ahead. And new fuel will soon be added to the fire: ousted FBI director James Comey's tell-all book comes out April 17.

The President's supporters boast about accomplishments such as the $1.5 trillion tax cut, an economy that continues to grow and a new trade deal with South Korea. But those closest to Trump are unnerved by his penchant for making matters worse. Asked if he would fire Mueller—which White House spokeswoman Sarah Sanders said he "certainly believes he has the power" to do—Trump replied, "Why don't I just fire Mueller? Well, I think it's a disgrace what's going on. We'll see what happens." He reportedly has had to be talked out of doing just that, and has since mused about firing Jeff Sessions, his Attorney General, for recusing himself from the Russia probe. Trump has also considered firing Sessions' deputy, Rod Rosenstein, the only official who, according to regulations, has the power to fire Mueller.

When Trump abruptly canceled a trip to Latin America, White House officials said it was because of the Syria matter. But aides later confirmed it was also because he wanted to figure out what to do about the Mueller investigation.

Should Trump move to fire Mueller or any of the officials overseeing his probe, it would be a remarkable twist of history: his version of President Nixon's "Saturday night massacre," prompted not by prosecutors unearthing illegal business dealings or alleged ties to Russia but by claims from a porn actor and a former *Playboy* bunny that Cohen orchestrated hush-money payments to bury details of alleged affairs with the President. Trump's supporters believe such a firing would have its own internal logic, coming after the President's feeling that the special prosecutor's investigation traveled too far from its original purpose.

Trump's scandals with women aren't new, of course. He was elected after voters heard a leaked tape from the *Access Hollywood* set in 2005 of Trump bragging about groping, kissing and forcing himself onto women, and after 19 women went public with allegations of sexual misconduct against him. (Records related to the tape were also reportedly of interest to investigators in the Cohen raid.) But what has come to light since are the machinations of Trump's entourage, as it worked to keep quiet two of his alleged affairs. As the Cohen raids show, that could create potentially crippling legal vulnerabilities for the President and those close to him.

CLIFFORD SAYS SHE met Trump in July 2006 at a celebrity golf tournament at Lake Tahoe. She was making a paid

TRUMP'S LEGAL TROUBLES

FEB. 13
National Security Adviser Michael Flynn resigns after failing to tell the Vice President about talks with Russia's ambassador. He later pleads guilty to lying to the FBI.

MAY 17
Robert Mueller is appointed special counsel to investigate possible collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia.

OCT. 5
Former Trump campaign adviser George Papadopoulos pleads guilty to lying to the FBI about attempts to connect Trump campaign staff with Russian officials.

2017 JAN. FEB. MARCH APRIL MAY JUNE JULY AUG. SEPT. OCT.

TRUMP TAKES OFFICE

MAY 9
Trump fires FBI Director James Comey, whose Russian counterintelligence investigators were searching for possible coordination between the Trump campaign and Russia. Comey says Trump asked him for loyalty and to drop any inquiry into Flynn.

OCT. 27
Former Trump campaign officials Paul Manafort and Rick Gates are indicted on money laundering and other charges. Manafort pleads not guilty. Gates initially does the same but later pleads guilty to financial fraud and lying to the FBI.

appearance, and the two rode in a golf cart together before Trump invited her to his hotel, Clifford said in a 2011 interview with *In Touch Weekly* that was published this January. After having sex, Clifford said Trump repeatedly promised to give her a spot on *The Celebrity Apprentice*. Melania Trump had recently given birth to the couple's son, Barron. During an interview with *60 Minutes* in March, Clifford said a man approached her in a Las Vegas parking lot in 2011 and physically threatened her. "Leave Trump alone," he allegedly said. "Forget the story." Cohen has denied having anything to do with the threats.

Model and actor McDougal says she met Trump in 2006, while he was filming an episode of *The Celebrity Apprentice* at the Playboy Mansion in Los Angeles. Trump asked for her number, she said in an interview with CNN. McDougal described in detail a 10-month relationship with Trump she believed was based on love. "He always told me he loved me," she said.

McDougal, who was a preschool teacher before becoming a model, said she voted for Trump in November and that her contact with him was facilitated by one of his bodyguards. At one point, she said, Trump brought her into his Manhattan apartment. The visit made her feel "guilty, very guilty," she said. It ultimately convinced her to end the affair.

Sanders said in March that Trump has "made very well clear that none of these allegations are true." That may be. But at some point, Trump's personal lawyer, Cohen, allegedly got involved.

Cohen has worked for Trump since 2006, when he was hired as executive vice president of the Trump Organization and special counsel. He resigned once Trump became President to act as his personal lawyer. Cohen liked to be known as the "fixer," doing whatever needed doing to defend his boss. And he relished playing the tough guy. In 2015, Cohen threatened a reporter who was writing a story about Ivana and Donald Trump's divorce. "I'm warning you, tread very f-cking lightly," Cohen said, according to the Daily Beast. "Because what I'm going to do to you is going to be f-cking disgusting."

Three months before the election, American Media Inc., which is run by Trump confidant David Pecker, reportedly paid McDougal $150,000 for the exclusive rights to her story. But it never ran; the payment appears to have been what is known in the tabloid world as "catch and kill," in which a paper buys a story to prevent it from coming out. Cohen reportedly knew about the deal.

Nearly three months later, as voters readied to go to the polls, Clifford says, Cohen offered her $130,000 to agree to remain silent about the affair. The *Wall Street Journal* broke news of the hush-money payment in January. Clifford is suing Trump, accusing him of never actually signing their agreement. She also claims Cohen breached the deal by giving the news media a statement in February that confirmed the existence of the payment, and she is suing him for defamation.

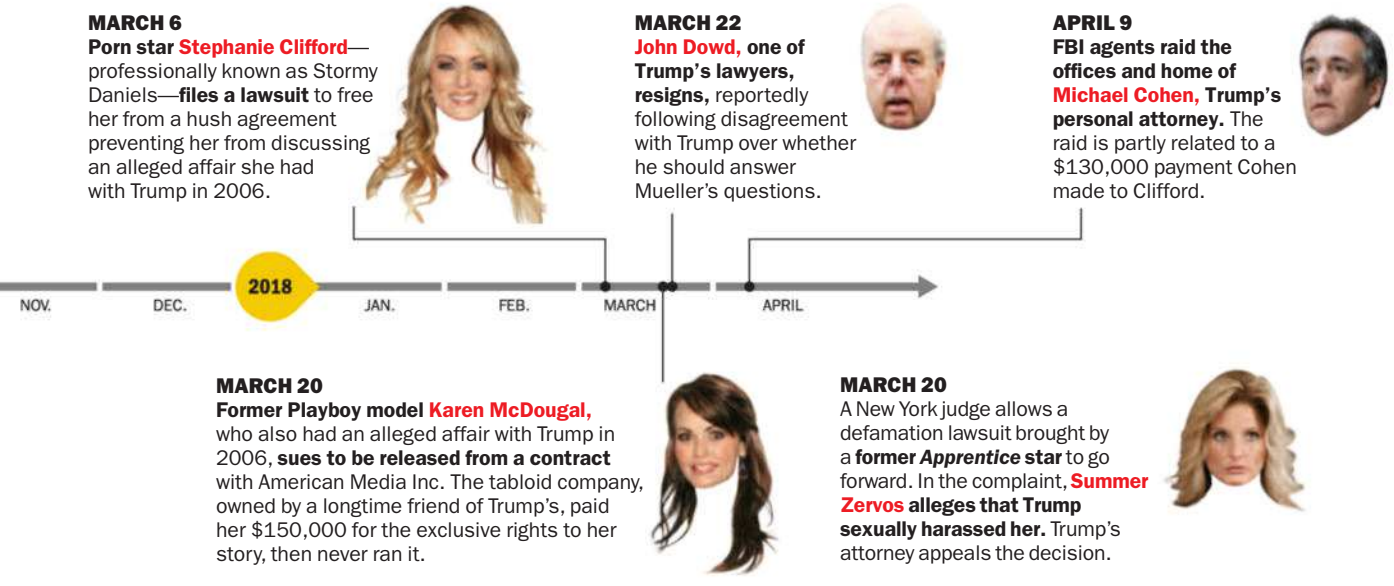
When federal agents came knocking on Cohen's door, they were reportedly interested in documents related to any payments and arrangements that Cohen may have made for Clifford and McDougal, among other matters. The Clifford payment could be a violation of campaign-finance law, legal experts have warned. If the payment was made to help Trump win the election, it could be considered an in-kind campaign contribution, the legal limit for which is $2,700.

But Cohen's trouble may run much deeper. Investigators are already interested in possible commission of bank-fraud crimes, which can carry a penalty of up to 30 years in jail.

There are multiple dangers for Trump too. For more than a decade, Cohen handled matters large and small for the free-wheeling businessman. And Cohen was the man helping Trump make many of his deals. The mere fact that investigators seized communications between Trump and Cohen should be concerning to both men.

After the Cohen raids, Trump tweeted that "attorney-client privilege is dead!" But there's an exception: privilege doesn't apply if the communications between an attorney and client are determined to be facilitating criminal activity. If Trump is the client in question, the findings from the Cohen raid could implicate him directly.

Trump was already facing a daunting challenge from the Mueller investigation, and Cohen opens an entirely new front. And each could spawn further probes as investigators, armed with court-ordered warrants, dig deeper into a world Trump considers private. "[Cohen's] greatest


MARCH 6
Porn star Stephanie Clifford—professionally known as Stormy Daniels—files a lawsuit to free her from a hush agreement preventing her from discussing an alleged affair she had with Trump in 2006.
MARCH 22
John Dowd, one of Trump's lawyers, resigns, reportedly following disagreement with Trump over whether he should answer Mueller's questions.
APRIL 9
FBI agents raid the offices and home of Michael Cohen, Trump's personal attorney. The raid is partly related to a $130,000 payment Cohen made to Clifford.
NOV.
DEC.
2018
JAN.
FEB.
MARCH
APRIL
MARCH 20
Former Playboy model Karen McDougal, who also had an alleged affair with Trump in 2006, sues to be released from a contract with American Media Inc. The tabloid company, owned by a longtime friend of Trump's, paid her $150,000 for the exclusive rights to her story, then never ran it.
MARCH 20
A New York judge allows a defamation lawsuit brought by a former Apprentice star to go forward. In the complaint, Summer Zervos alleges that Trump sexually harassed her. Trump's attorney appeals the decision.

danger is as bait to get Trump to aggressively move against Mueller or the Department of Justice," says Jonathan Turley, a professor at the George Washington University Law School. That could trigger calls for impeachment, or bolster an obstruction-of-justice case. One day before the FBI raid, Cohen tweeted, "A person who deserves my loyalty receives it." He tagged Trump's personal Twitter handle and added, "I will always protect our @POTUS."

What happens next may in part depend on how strong that loyalty is. If Cohen is indicted, he could be offered a deal to flip on Trump. (The President's pardon power does not apply to state-level crimes.) "Having a cooperating fix-it man is the dream of any prosecutor," says Turley.

IT'S WORTH PAUSING to reflect on just how unusual all this is. Presidents don't often face lawsuits related to extramarital affairs, let alone those with porn stars and Playmates. Their press secretaries aren't left to answer questions about FBI raids on the homes of campaign aides and attorneys. Nor do they tend to accuse the people charged with upholding the nation's laws of attacking the country.

On this count, Trump has only himself to blame. Good legal advice would generally have someone in Trump's position lay low. But at every turn, he has taken steps to make matters worse. On a flight back from West Virginia on April 5, Trump told reporters on Air Force One that he knew nothing about Cohen's payment to Clifford, which to some experts suggested she was no longer bound by the nondisclosure agreement.

Such antics become all the more important as Trump faces the possibility of being deposed by Mueller in the Russia investigation. Negotiations for his testimony are ongoing. Those close to the President, who are used to his volcanic temper and propensity to voice whatever comes to mind, worry what might happen now. "He should do as little talking as possible," says Alan Dershowitz, a professor emeritus at Harvard Law School and TV pundit, who dined with Trump on April 10 as part of a pre-planned meeting on Middle East issues. Dershowitz says he hasn't offered Trump direct legal advice, but says if he did, it would be that "his best course of action is to try to limit discussions with the prosecutors. No one in his position has ever been helped by a prosecutor."

But Trump is increasingly short of advisers to urge caution. Communications adviser Hope Hicks, one of Trump's closest confidants, left on March 29, while National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster, Homeland Security adviser Tom Bossert and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson were all recently forced out.

Around the West Wing, the expectation is that Trump is far from done. Sessions, Rosenstein and White House chief of staff John Kelly are all on thin ice. Trump blames Sessions and Rosenstein for his legal woes. In Trump's mind, had Sessions not recused himself from the inquiry into Trump campaign's possible ties to Russia—which was required by the Justice Department, since Sessions was a major voice inside the campaign—then Rosenstein could not have appointed Mueller. Even Trump's own aides acknowledge that the President fails to see how he made matters worse by firing Comey when the FBI director wouldn't drop his own probe into Russia.

In the wake of the Cohen raids, even Republican lawmakers had stark warnings for Trump. "It would be suicide" for Trump to fire Mueller, Iowa Senator Chuck Grassley said. On April 11, Grassley said the Senate Judiciary Committee plans to advance a bipartisan bill to protect Mueller if Trump attempts to fire him. South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham tamped down the idea Trump is considering taking out Rosenstein: "I'm confident that would be the beginning of the end of his presidency, and he's not going to do that."

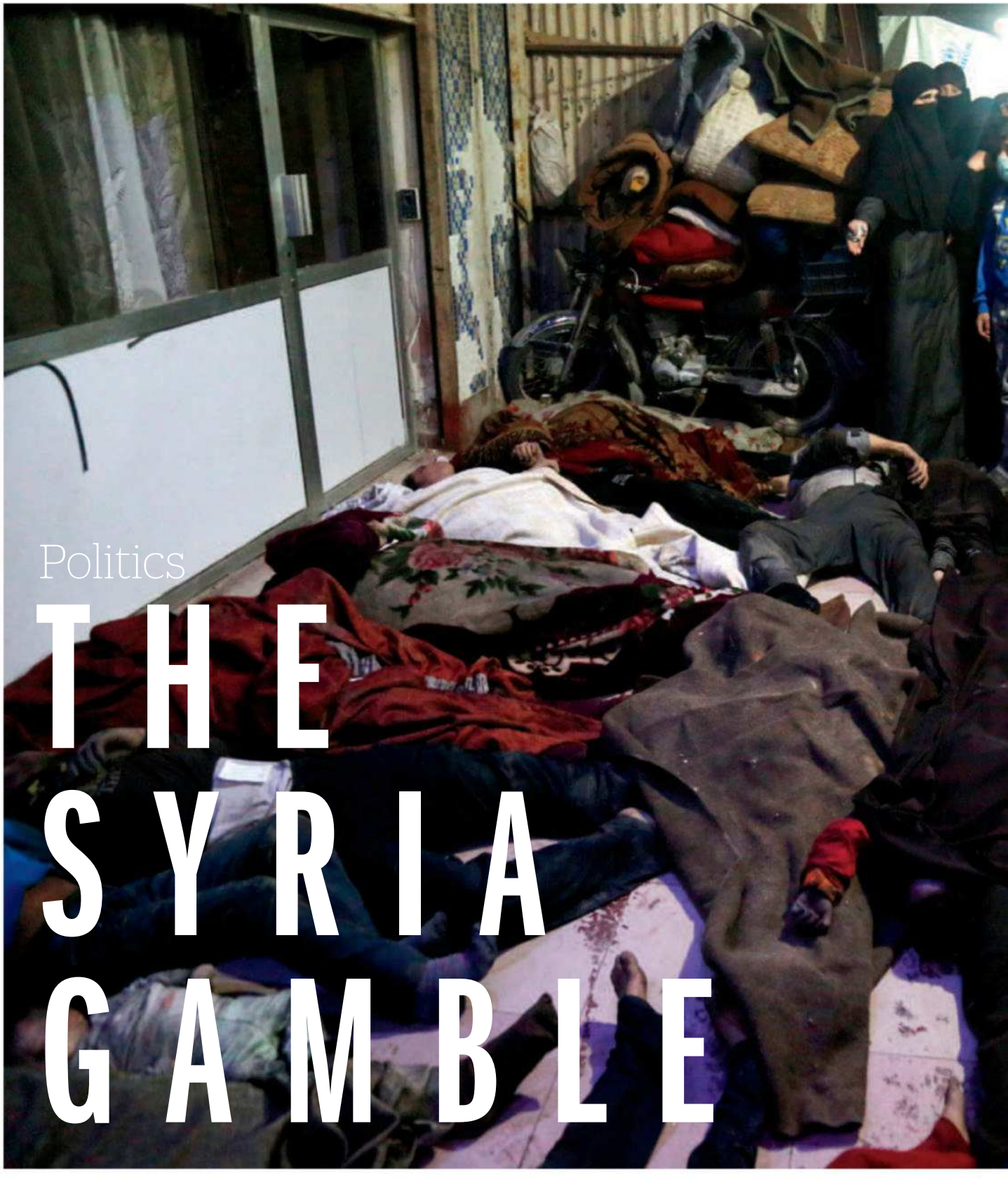
Since the night of Nov. 8, 2016, Trump's political and philosophical opponents have been publicly and repeatedly asking, How long can this last? Those who have concluded "not much longer" have been vexed time after time. After all, this is a man who defied convention and criticism to achieve the highest office in the country, not to mention one who spent decades honing his abilities as a media provocateur. Skilled as Trump has been at deploying suspense, misdirection and invective to his advantage over the last 15 months, the Trump reality show appears closer than ever to colliding with reality itself.

—With reporting by TESSA BERENSON, MASSIMO CALABRESI, PHILIP ELLIOTT *and* W.J. HENNIGAN/WASHINGTON *and* SUSANNA SCHROBSDORFF/NEW YORK

PAPADOPOULOS: LINKEDIN; GETTY IMAGES (10)

Politics

THE SYRIA GAMBLE



Survivors and medical workers survey victims of the suspected chemical-weapons attack in the Damascus suburb of Douma on April 8

PHOTOGRAPH BY EMAD ALDIN

Can the U.S. deter war crimes without going to war?

By W.J. HENNIGAN

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP HAD MADE UP HIS mind about Syria. It was March 29, and to the cheers of the crowd at a campaign-style stop in Richfield, Ohio, the Commander in Chief declared that after 3½ years and billions of dollars sunk into the Middle East's bloodiest civil war, America's troops would soon be coming home. "We're knocking the hell out of ISIS," Trump said. "We're coming out of Syria, like, very soon. Let the other people take care of it now."

Caught off-guard, Trump's advisers scrambled through the Easter weekend both to craft an exit strategy to fulfill his vow—and to come up with arguments on why pulling out might not be wise. Trump did not want to hear it. During a meeting with his national-security principals in the Situation Room in the White House the following Tuesday, the President laid into his military leaders, fuming about the U.S. costs in Syria and demanding a clearer time frame for withdrawal.

At one point, General Joseph Dunford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and an opponent of a rapid pullout, responded to Trump's venting by asking what, exactly, the President wanted to see happen in Syria. Trump said he didn't want a drawn-out nation-building exercise, nor did he want to telegraph a pullout that would leave a power vacuum that militants could fill, according to two people familiar with the deliberations who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Other advisers, like Defense Secretary James Mattis, who also sat in on the meeting and sided with Dunford, recognize that a Trump decision can be a bit like the weather: if you don't like it, just wait, it may change. Indeed, on April 9, two days after an apparent chemical-weapons attack on Syrian civilians in the western town of Douma, Trump was preparing the public for a new engagement in the country. "We're the greatest fighting force anywhere in the world," Trump said, promising to act "forcefully" and soon.

But the about-face on Syria was about more than the indiscipline of a reliably inconstant presidency. The harder truth is that a U.S. President has no attractive options in Syria. Pulling

out completely would cede the field to Iran—which Trump has sworn to combat everywhere in the region—and give new life to the ISIS and al-Qaeda elements that remain in the country. A deeper military engagement carries dangers as well. Every airstrike—and the U.S.-led military coalition has made more than 11,000 in Syria since 2014—risks drawing the U.S. into direct confrontation with the Russian forces that are backing Syrian leader Bashar Assad and working with Iran. Yet Trump called out Russia in tweets launched before the missiles he hinted at: "Get ready Russia, because they will be coming, nice and new and 'smart!'" the President warned on April 11. "You shouldn't be partners with a Gas Killing Animal who kills his people and enjoys it!"

Trump is navigating a stubborn reality with a new team of advisers chosen for their alignment with his worldview. At the State Department, former CIA chief Mike Pompeo, an inveterate Iran hawk, spent the days after the Douma attack assembling a coalition of forces to join in military action. Even more important, John Bolton has taken the reins as head of the National Security Council, which makes him Trump's close strategic adviser on the Syria strategy. A longtime believer in the use of U.S. military force but an ardent opponent of nation-building, Bolton may well be in sync with Trump's conflicting desires to retaliate against Assad, but also find a way to withdraw.

Trump convened senior leaders on the issue of Syria, including new National Security Adviser John Bolton (in red tie) *on April 9*

THE FIRST TIME Trump tried to project force in Syria, it took just three days for him to authorize missile strikes against Assad. He acted almost impulsively, without seeking congressional authorization, in what was the most significant military action of his then 11-week-old presidency.

Trump made that decision following a briefing at his Mar-a-Lago estate, where he was hosting Chinese President Xi Jinping. Trump was told that American radar and surveillance systems had detected a Syrian attack aircraft taking off from Shayrat air base before dawn, flying 75 miles north to a rebel-held area in Khan Sheikhoun and dropping a bomb. While the intelligence was convincing, it was the images posted to social media that tipped the scales.

Dina Powell, who was then the deputy National Security Adviser, had learned from Trump's daughter Ivanka that photographs and charts could move him on foreign-policy questions. When Powell wanted Trump to respond to Syria's use of chemical weapons, she showed him a presentation with photographs of children injured in the attack. The President quickly reversed course on his years-long campaign against unprovoked military involvement overseas.

"I will tell you that attack on children yesterday had a big impact on me—big impact," Trump told reporters before authorizing the missile strikes. "My attitude toward Syria and Assad has changed very much … You're now talking about a whole different level."

The next day, Trump selected from three attack options, each intended to thread the needle between deterring Assad from using chemical weapons again without fracturing his grip on power. There were real fears that ISIS, al-Qaeda affiliates or other extremist groups would fill a vacuum. Just four hours later, two American naval destroyers launched 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Shayrat air base, destroying 20 Syrian aircraft, aircraft shelters, Russian-made radars and surface-to-air missile systems. The Pentagon later said that one-fifth of Syria's jets were wiped out.

But Assad was not deterred from using chemical weapons—the forbidden munitions that were supposed to have been removed from Syria in a 2013 deal brokered by President Obama to prevent further attacks. Since Trump's missile strikes, Assad has allegedly launched dozens of chlorine-gas attacks. Mattis holds Russia responsible. "The first thing we have to look at is why are chemical

PREVIOUS PAGES: EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK; THESE PAGES: OLIVER CONTRERAS—SIPA/AP

weapons still being used at all when Russia was the framework guarantor of removing all the chemical weapons," Mattis told reporters on April 9. "And so, working with our allies and our partners from NATO to Qatar and elsewhere, we are going to address this issue."

IF LAST YEAR'S STRIKES weren't enough to deter Assad, then a repeat performance is unlikely to send the message, even if more allies are involved, says Frederic Hof, who advised Obama on Syria and worked on Middle East issues under the Reagan and George H.W. Bush Administrations. "If Assad comes to the conclusion that it is a one-off strike, the Trump Administration will have accomplished nothing," Hof says. "The message to Assad, and the world, frankly, needs to be clear: There is a high price to pay if you develop and use these weapons against civilians."

Any operation is likely to be fraught with risk, Hof says, because Assad's forces are so tightly entwined with Iranian and Russian troops at various bases. The airfield that is believed to have launched the Douma attack—al-Dumayr air base, about 25 miles north of Damascus—has hosted Russian advisers. Russia and Iran have become the arbiters of Syria's future, with their militaries having saved Assad in 2015, when his regime seemed to be on the brink of defeat.

A target list by the U.S. and its allies might include not only what's left of Syria's dwindling number of attack jets, but also the Russian warplanes at Hmeimim air base in northwestern Syria, or the facilities where Iran's Revolutionary Guard officers advise Assad's forces. Elimination of any of those targets would not break Assad's hold on power—the Islamist-dominated rebel groups arrayed against him now having nearly been defeated—but it would greatly risk escalating American involvement. Either Iran or Russia could retaliate against U.S. ground forces, aircraft or warships in the region.

Still, there is consensus within the Administration that, even in a conflict that has killed some 400,000 people, the use of forbidden and horrifically damaging weapons must be punished. The Trump Administration has calculated that Assad's defiance risks a domino effect around the globe.

"The last attack intended to degrade Assad's ability to launch chemical-weapons attacks and deter him from using the weapons," says Jennifer Cafarella, a senior intelligence planner at the nonpartisan Institute for the Study of War. "The Administration accomplished the first part of the mission, but obviously didn't convince Assad not to use chemical weapons. We should expect a more convincing response this time."

Conspicuous military action would also limit the damage done by Trump's talk of walking away from Syria. The campaign-style statement "was a dangerous message to be sending to three regimes that are looking for any sign of American weakness and lack of American resolve and may be increasingly convinced Trump is a paper tiger—or maybe a Twitter tiger may be more apt," says Mark Dubowitz, CEO of the conservative think tank Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

Bolton, even before his first official day on the job, worked feverishly on Syria policy proposals over the weekend and attended his first White House meeting as a leading player the night of April 9. Bolton supports plans for Syria that are aimed at blunting Tehran's influence there, of which it has a great deal. Through proxy militias and regional allies, Iran has established an overland supply route that runs from Tehran, across Iraq and Syria, to Beirut, where Hizballah dominates both politically and militarily. It is a land bridge that has replaced air flights as a supply corridor in the region. On maps, it follows the same path as the "Shi'ite crescent" that Sunni rulers warned would come into being after the U.S. invaded Iraq and deposed Saddam Hussein, the Sunni despot who helped check Iran's influence.

The Trump Administration wants more involvement from Sunni Arab countries to roll back Iran, says Luke Coffey, director of the Allison Center for Foreign Policy at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "They need to step up to the plate," he says. "This is their backyard, so they should have just as much of an interest in confronting Syria and Iran as we do."

Indeed, one Washington think tank recently presented the White House with a detailed plan centered around a phased American withdrawal from Syria that hands peacekeeping operations in eastern Syria to Sunni Arab allies. Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who has said the U.S. military should maintain a presence in Syria, has also indicated a willingness to participate in a military operation against Assad for the chemical attack. "Trump's instincts are always, 'I want other people involved,' and, 'I want someone else to pay for this,'" says Jim Hanson of Security Studies Group, another right-wing think tank close to the White House. "Saudis are our new best friends, and it is definitely in their neighborhood."

That may not be quite what Trump had in mind when he breezily told Ohioans that it was time to "let the other people take care of it now." But it begins to square wishes with reality. —*With reporting by* BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Technology

THE MASTERS OF MIND CONTROL

Silicon Valley knows how to program human behavior—for better or worse

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS

New apps can push better habits, more transparency

The headquarters of Boundless Mind looks as if it were created by a set designer to satisfy a cultural cliché. The tech startup is run out of a one-car garage a few blocks from California's Venice Beach.

Boundless Mind, founded in 2015, has 10 employees and operates out of a one-car garage near Venice Beach

On the morning I visited, in March, it was populated by a dozen screens—phones, tablets, monitors—and half as many 20-something engineers, all of whom were male and bearded, and one of whom wore a cowboy hat. Someone had written in blue marker across the top of a whiteboard in all caps: YOU'RE BUILDING AMAZING SH-T.

But that, more or less, is where the Silicon Valley stereotypes end. Ramsay Brown, 29, and T. Dalton Combs, 32, the co-founders of Boundless Mind, are hardly the college dropouts of tech lore; they're trained neuroscientists. And unlike most tech entrepreneurs, they are not trying to build the next big thing that will go viral. In fact, Boundless Mind's mission is almost the opposite. The company wants to disrupt America's addiction to technology. "It used to be that pathogens and cars were killing us," Brown says. "Now it's cheeseburgers and social media. It's our habits and addictions."

Every day, we check our phones an average of 47 times—every 19 minutes of our waking lives—and spend roughly five hours total peering at their silvery glow. There's no good consensus about what all this screen time means for children's brains, adolescents' moods or the future of our democratic institutions. But many of us are seized these days with a feeling that it's not good. Last year, the American Psychological Association found that 65% of us believe that periodically unplugging would improve our mental health, and a 2017 University of Texas study found that the mere presence of our smartphones, face down on the desk in front of us, undercuts our ability to perform basic cognitive tasks. New York University psychologist Adam Alter describes the current state of tech obsession as a "full-blown epidemic."

The problem, critics agree, begins with Silicon Valley's unique business model, which relies on keeping us in the thrall of our screens. The longer we are glued to an app—a value nicknamed eyeball time—the more money its creators make by selling our attention and access to our personal data to advertisers and others. You and I are not customers of Facebook or Google; we are the product being sold.

This business model has driven an explosion of interest in what's known as persuasive technology, a relatively new field of research that studies how computers can be used to control human thoughts and actions. The field, which draws on advances in neuroscience and behavioral psychology, has fueled the creation of thousands of apps, interfaces and devices that deliberately encourage certain human behaviors (keep scrolling) while discouraging others (convey thoughtful, nuanced ideas). "If, 20

SCOTT WITTER FOR TIME

years ago, I had announced that we would soon be creating machines that control humans, there would have been an uproar," wrote B.J. Fogg, a Stanford University behavior scientist who was one of the first academics to seriously study how computers influence human behavior. But now, he notes, "we are surrounded by persuasive technologies."

Every major consumer tech company operating today—from behemoths like Amazon to the lone programmer building the next *Candy Crush*—uses some form of persuasive technology. Most of the time, the goal is unambiguous: the companies want to get us to spend as much time as possible on their platforms. Facebook's platform, for example, is not neutral. Its designers determine which videos, news stories and friends' comments appear at the top of your feed, as well as how often you're informed of new notifications. Snapchat's interface distributes badges to users who maintain daily streaks—a nifty system built in part on humans' well-studied psychological need to bank progress. "Your kid is not weak-willed because he can't get off his phone," Brown says. "Your kid's brain is being engineered to get him to stay on his phone."

5

Average number of hours we spend on our phones every day

89%

Percentage of people who check their phones within an hour of waking up

In the past year, Silicon Valley insiders have raised the alarm about the real-world impact of all this persuasive tech. Former Google employee Tristan Harris and early Facebook investor Roger McNamee have accused the tech giants of deliberately creating addictive products, without regard for human or social health, and this year, two major Apple shareholders publicly called on the company to design a less-addictive iPhone. Others have championed the idea of tech detox. In San Francisco, "technology mindfulness" conferences, like Wisdom 2.0, have sprung up alongside tech-free private schools, tech-free meet-ups, and apps like Moment and Onward, which are designed to help people curb their phone use. In Germany, a growing number of corporations, including Volkswagen and BMW, have begun restricting how employees can send or receive nonemergency emails after hours,

and in Brooklyn, a tiny device manufacturer, Light, is promoting a new "dumb phone" that does little more than make calls. It's been marketed as a phone that should be used as little as possible.

Brown and Combs are sympathetic to this backlash, but they're also deeply skeptical of the proposed solutions. "We're not getting rid of this stuff—there's no way," Brown says. "No piece of technology, once adopted, ever gets put back in the box." Instead, he and Combs propose a different tactic, born of the relentless optimism of Silicon Valley: fight fire with fire. Why not harness those same, powerful persuasive technologies that Big Tech has in its arsenal but, instead of deploying them to maximize eyeball time, use them to promote a healthy, democratic society?

Boundless Mind, founded in 2015 as Dopamine Labs, has raised $1.5 million and boasts just 10 employees and 14 customers. But its business model has the benefit of being provocative. "We're talking about mind control—oh my God, right?" Brown says, his eyes widening in mock disbelief. "But what if we sell you those mind-control tools to help people get off opioids? Or to communicate with each other on a more meaningful level?" Brown gestures to my phone, which sits like an arbiter between us. "We already know how to engineer your brain to be a good little social-media user," he says. "Why can't we engineer your brain to be who *you* want to be?"

THE FOUNDERS of Boundless Mind are in some ways a study in opposites. Brown, the more garrulous of the two, is fluent in the unself-conscious informality of the West Coast tech scene. He signs his emails with emojis—a bear, a red heart, a sun—describes himself on the company's website as an "escaped circus bear" and favors collared shirts unbuttoned to the sternum, revealing a tan wilderness of chest hair. Combs, who takes a backseat to Brown as the company's de facto spokesperson, tends to answer questions with numbers and data, his hands twitching toward a tablet nearby. On the two occasions we met, he wore a fleece, zipped all the way up. But both share a deep conviction that in a world saturated with interactive technology, our brains, however complex, can be hijacked and programmed—for better or worse.

The two met as graduate students in the neuroscience program at the University of Southern California. (Brown later received a master's degree in neuroinformatics, Combs a Ph.D. in neuroeconomics.) Their friendship was born over beers and a mutual disappointment in what are known as behavior-change apps—tools designed to help people commit to certain actions, like dieting or quitting smoking. It was clear to them as computational neuroscientists that despite any good intentions, those products were ignoring rich neurobiological research showing

45%
Percentage of U.S. kids ages 10 to 12 who have their own smartphone, with a service plan

58%
Percentage of U.S. parents who worry that their kids are too attached to their devices

'If, 20 years ago, I had announced that we would soon be creating machines that control humans, there would have been an uproar.'

B.J. FOGG, Stanford University researcher

Scientists don't yet know how using smartphones for hours every day affects our brains

GIJSBERT VAN DER WAL

how our brains form new habits. This failure, they thought, was a market opportunity. "We realized that we have an uncommon understanding of where human behavior comes from and how to change it," Brown says. "Not just at the level of some New York *Times* best seller—'Do something for 30 days, it'll stick!'—but at a fundamental, academic level."

One day at their office, Brown walked over to a whiteboard, drew an outline of a human brain in orange marker and turned to face Combs and me. The brain, he explained, sounding like the graduate teaching assistant he once was, has two basic neural pathways for controlling behavior. One is structurally weak but helps us make conscious, intentional decisions to serve our long-term goals. The other is more automatic and easily suggestible. Brown drew an orange swirl in the middle of the brain: the basal ganglia. When the brain gets some sort of external cue, like the ding of a Facebook notification, that often precedes a reward, the basal ganglia receive a burst of dopamine, a powerful neurotransmitter linked to the anticipation of pleasure. That three-part process—trigger, action, reward—undergirds the brain's basic habit-forming loop, he said.

That loop is just the beginning, Combs added, jumping in. If you're trying to get someone to establish a new behavior—"to really glue it in tight"—computer engineers can draw on different kinds of positive feedback, like social approval or a sense of progress, to build on that loop. One simple trick is to offer users a reward, like points or a cascade of new likes from friends at unpredictable times. The human brain produces more dopamine when it anticipates a reward but doesn't know when it will arrive, Combs explained. Psychologists refer to this as behavioral change with variable rewards. Combs and Brown call it engineering "surprise and delight."

Most of the alluring apps and websites in wide use today were engineered to exploit this habit-forming loop. Snapchat, for example, which relies heavily on the trigger-action-reward triumvirate, also uses a powerful trick to get users to open the app daily. When two people send and receive Snaps with each other for days on end, both receive emoji flames next to their names, alongside a number, which ticks up every 24 hours, indicating how long the two have maintained their connection. If either misses a day, both lose their flame. That interface, while playful, capitalizes on what psychologists call the endowed progress effect. Fearful of zeroing out their banked progress, teenagers have handed over their log-in information to friends before vacations.

Pinterest, one of the first Silicon Valley firms to hire behavioral psychologists to work alongside designers, plays on our psychology in a different way. Its interface, which features an endless scroll of pictures arranged in a staggered, jigsaw-like pattern, is human catnip. It ensures that users always see a partial image of what comes next, which tantalizes our curiosity and deprives us of any natural stopping point, while simultaneously offering an endless well of new content. Brown and Combs refer to this as "bottomless bowl" design, a reference to a 2005 Cornell University study that found that participants ate 73% more soup when their bowls secretly self-refilled. Dozens of other apps employ similar interfaces. No matter how long you scroll down on Facebook, Instagram or Twitter, and no matter how many hours you spend watching YouTube or Netflix, there is always more content cued up to auto-play.

THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL sleights of hand aren't all new, of course. Advertisers, studio producers, magicians and salesmen, to name just a few who have traditionally made their living through persuasion, have long relied on vulnerabilities in the human psyche. It should be no secret, for example, that casinos, which have no clocks or outside windows, are designed to eliminate external stopping cues. Or that slot machines are programmed with gamblers' dopamine receptors in mind.

What's going on today is different, experts say, for the simple reason that we've never had technology like smartphones before. Unlike TV commercials or billboards, these pocket-size supercomputers are with us constantly—at work, in bed, at our kids' games. And unlike older media, which were essentially passive, our smartphones actively surveil us; they track our steps, log our GPS locations, note nearby devices and file away our clicks, likes and comments. Those digital bread crumbs amass over time, equipping tech companies with staggeringly precise information about each of us. Product designers then use that data, alongside machine-learning tools, to study how we react to certain interfaces, rewards and inputs, and to identify patterns in our behaviors. That allows them to predict, fairly precisely, Brown says, how we'll react in the future.

When the game company Zynga first launched *FarmVille,* the popular social-network game, in 2009, its designers closely studied how it was being played, says Gabe Zichermann, one of the pre-eminent experts on gamification. They analyzed users' data to determine, for example, how long it took players to run out of patience or to beat a level, he says. They then tweaked the interface to reflect those findings, making it alternately more frustrating—so that users would pay to skip a level—or rewarding, doling out freebies to users in danger of giving up.

That same process still happens today, only now—nearly a decade later—it's much more precise, Zichermann says. As cloud computing has gotten

cheaper and machine-learning tools have gotten easier to use, even small tech companies can now analyze their users' behavior at a granular level. That allows them to identify not only which factors affect engagement by a typical user but also which factors most affect each user personally. In other words, apps today are often highly adaptive, deploying a unique set of rewards and feedback for each user, based on what has worked in the past. "It's pretty incredible how effective it can be," Combs says. "If you're setting the consequences of someone's behaviors and you tie those consequences to learning machines so that the consequences shift according to individual markers, you really do have exquisite control over shaping that individual's behavior—over how he spends his time."

Fogg, the behavior scientist who helped pioneer the study of computer-based persuasive technology in the mid-'90s, warned in his 1998 Stanford doctoral thesis about potential ethical problems arising from this work. But over the years, many outsiders have come to regard his research as something of an instruction manual for how to create addictive apps. One former student, Instagram founder Mike Krieger, came up with his design for the famously sticky photo-sharing app while enrolled in Fogg's program. Another young entrepreneur who took Fogg's professional training, Nir Eyal, the author of *Hooked: How to Build Habit-Forming Products,* now runs an annual Habit Summit in San Francisco. Participants, who pay up to $1,700 for the three-day conference, are given "practical steps" on how to design "habit-forming products."

This idea—that app developers are competing with one another to create ever more addictive products—isn't so much an embarrassing secret as a starting point, says Zichermann. "People joke all the time about trying to build a 'diaper product,'" he says. "The idea is, 'Make something so addictive, they don't even want to get up to pee.'" On an earnings call in April last year, Netflix CEO Reed Hastings told investors that his company's main competition was customers' sleep. "When you watch a show from Netflix and you get addicted to it, you stay up late at night," he said, adding, "We're competing with sleep, on the margin. And so, it's a very large pool of time."

BROWN AND COMBS have no problem with persuasive technology. It's their bread and butter. Their objection is to how it is being used primarily by tech giants to boost eyeball time. What's good for corporate profits is not necessarily what's good for human health or society, Brown points out, adding, "And that's where this conversation has to start."

Boundless Mind's business model is to develop new versions of the same persuasive tools, combined with machine learning, that big tech firms already use—and then to sell them to nonprofits and companies promoting education, health or social welfare. Boundless Mind charges nonprofits and new startups $99 a month; larger companies' fees begin at $499 a month. One of Boundless Mind's new clients, AppliedVR, provides virtual-reality therapy to patients with chronic and acute pain at 190 hospitals nationwide. One of its products is a virtual game that helps patients manage post-operative pain by challenging them to shoot little red balls at bears in a virtual world. In order for the therapy to work, explained AppliedVR co-founder Matthew Stoudt, patients must ultimately find the interface addictive, at least on some level, so that "they want to keep coming back." Boundless Mind's technology will help AppliedVR learn from patients' past behavior in order to personalize the interface, making it uniquely rewarding for each user.

Before Boundless Mind takes on a new customer, Brown and Combs debate with their team the ethics of how a potential client will use its tools. They posted six questions on a blog—including "Are the actions that drive value for the publisher the same actions that drive value for the user?"—in part, they said, to keep themselves accountable. Last year, they turned down a client from a horse-betting website, a decision that Esther Dyson, a New York–based venture capitalist who funds Boundless Mind, applauded. While the company is still small—it has a valuation of just about $5 million—Dyson and the other investors are willing to leave cash on the table if it means "doing the right thing," she said. "They need to resist the temptation to use their technology for the wrong purposes."

That's easier said than done. As I was on the phone with Dyson, Facebook's beleaguered CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, posted his first public statement since news broke that the data firm Cambridge Analytica had used millions of people's personal Facebook data, without their permission, to aid the 2016 Trump campaign. (The firm was said initially to have lifted 50 million profiles; Facebook has since revised the number to 87 million.) On the surface, the Facebook scandal is about the exploitation of personal data. But viewed another way, it's about the intentional, aggressive cultivation and harvesting

47
Average number of times we check our phones every day

19
Average number of minutes that pass between the times we check our phones

'People joke about building a "diaper product." The idea is, "Make it so addictive, they don't even want to get up to pee."'

GABE ZICHERMANN, expert on gamification and behavior design

of that data through persuasive technology.

Since its launch a decade and a half ago, Facebook has been second to none at exploiting eyeball time. By 2016, users were spending an average of 50 minutes per day, a staggering portion of the average person's leisure time, on three of its platforms: Facebook, Instagram and Messenger. With each interaction, users have left digital traces of themselves, which together create detailed portraits of who they are, as individuals. Facebook sells that microtargeted access to advertisers, political campaigns and others.

In recent months, as Facebook has come under pressure, Zuckerberg has said the company's focus has changed. "I view our responsibility as not just building services that people like but building services that are good for people and good for society as well," he said April 10 during his Senate testimony. A Facebook spokesperson did not respond to questions from TIME about the use of persuasive technology on the platform. But she highlighted a number of recent tweaks to the company's carefully tuned interface, which have had a profound effect on our behavior. The company, which employs a bevy of social psychologists, now demotes viral videos, for example, a move that has resulted in users' spending 50 million fewer hours per day on the site in the last quarter of 2017.

When it comes to Facebook's impact on our lives, those tweaks may be a good thing. But they don't solve the basic problem—that tech firms, both big and small, now wield extraordinary control over what billions of us see and hear, how we communicate and ultimately how we behave. Adam Przybylski, a psychologist at Oxford University, notes that we don't yet have robust, peer-reviewed studies on whether screen time is linked to depression or how children's brains are affected by tech. That's largely because those vast databases of user behavior owned by big tech firms like Facebook are proprietary. "They own the richest social database that has ever existed, and we can't touch it," Przybylski says. "We spend many hours engaged with them, but all the analysis of us happens behind closed doors."

Brown and Combs hope that Boundless Mind provides something of a counterbalance. By developing persuasive-technology tools "and then releasing them to everybody," Brown says, they want to level the playing field. "Otherwise, it's just trapped inside Facebook, and only they get to use it." As virtual reality becomes more ubiquitous, persuasive technologies will become increasingly precise, personalized and effective, Brown and Combs say. While many see that imminent future as something of a dystopia, they see it as promising. It means we have the power to engineer the society we want, Brown says. "We have the power to control our minds," he said. "That's quite a gift." □

2/3
Ratio of Americans who think that periodically unplugging is important for mental health

1/4
Ratio of Americans who actually periodically unplug

91%
Percentage of people who willingly accept legal terms and conditions online without reading them

THERE'S AN APP FOR THAT

Most of us think we'd be better off if we stayed away from our screens for a bit—but going cold turkey is hard to pull off. Here are some apps designed to help us gently wean ourselves off the glow.

ONWARD
Onward Method Inc., free
While a lot of apps, like Checky and OffTime, track daily phone usage, Onward offers iPhone users an additional suite of tools, helping them set future limits on when, and how often, they want to allow themselves access to certain apps.

STEPLOCK
Leoncvlt, free
This Android app is similar to other app blockers, like QualityTime or ClearLock, except it allows you to unlock your favorite time sucks only after you've reached your exercise goals. Clock those steps, for example, and you get your apps back.

DINNERTIME PLUS
ZeroDesktop, free
While kids find it infuriating, parents like the ability to use this app to monitor their kids' phone or iPad usage in real time, determining when to schedule breaks for dinner, homework or getting ready for bed.

FOREST
Seekrtech Co., Ltd., $1.99
This quirky app lets you plant a seed in a virtual forest and then watch it grow into a tree—so long as you aren't distracted. If you check another app, your tree dies.

YONDR
Graham Dugoni, event rental for $2 each
Think of it as an old-fashioned app blocker: once your phone is secured inside this nifty pouch, it can be opened only with a special key. Which is exactly why teachers, musicians and performers hand them out before classes and shows.

YONDR

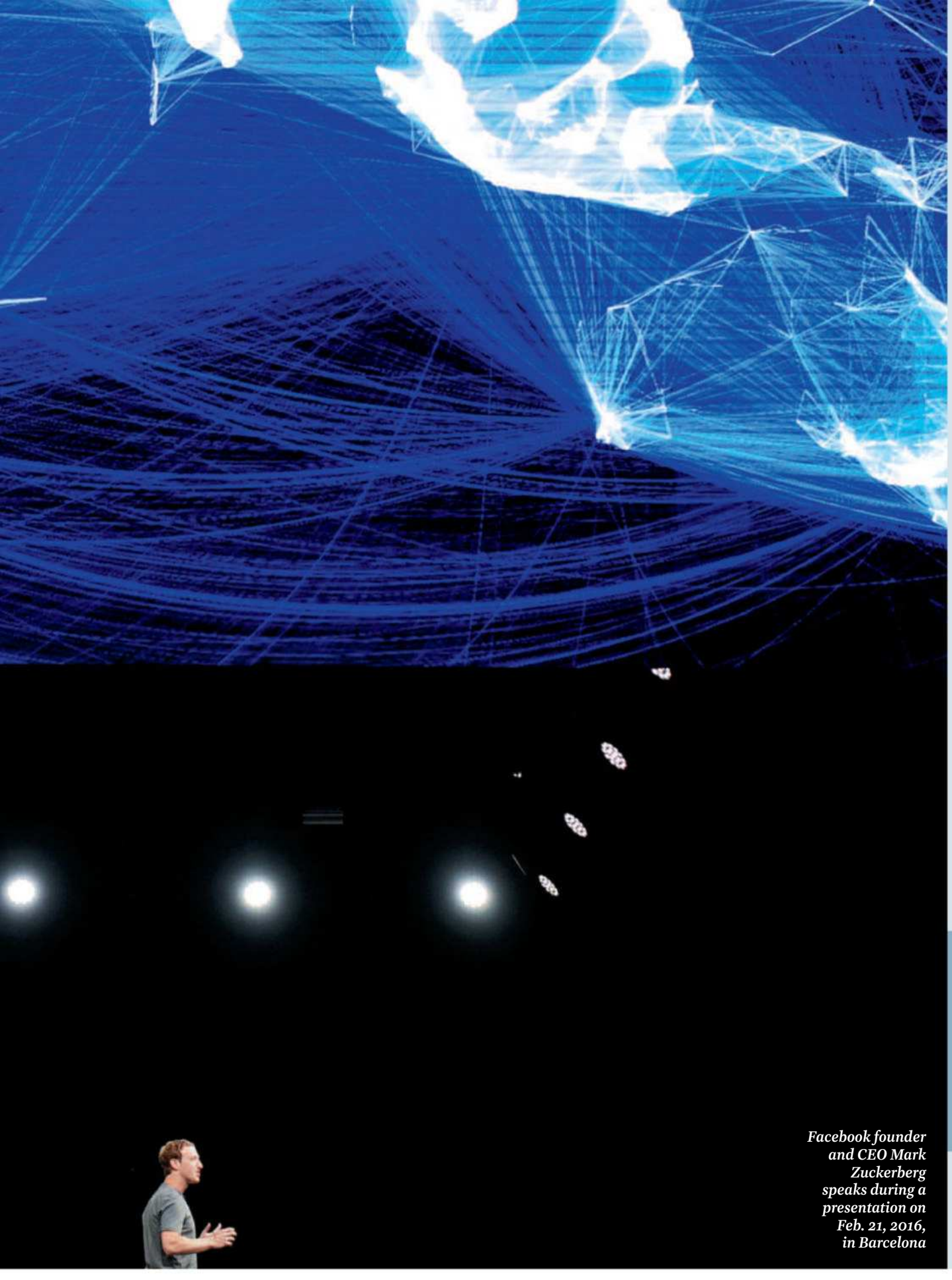
Technology

THE FACEBOOK DEFECT

Since the company's founding, Mark Zuckerberg has disregarded the problem that led it to crisis today

BY DAVID KIRKPATRICK

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID RAMOS



Facebook founder and CEO Mark Zuckerberg speaks during a presentation on Feb. 21, 2016, in Barcelona

Mark Zuckerberg barely even thought of Facebook as a business. The first time I met him, in September 2006, he effused in big-picture terms about what he called Facebook's "mission": "Helping people understand the world around them."

His scope and focus impressed me, so I gave him what I meant as a big compliment. I told him he seemed like a natural CEO. He wrinkled up his face as if I had insulted him. "I never wanted to run a company," the then 22-year-old replied, even as he admitted that "a business is a good vehicle for getting stuff done." As I covered his company as a journalist in the months and years that followed, it became clear that doing something meaningful was his highest priority. But as crisis envelops Facebook, the question of its nature as a business is still not completely answered. This is uniquely odd, given the scale of the firm's success.

A chain of revelations has befallen Facebook since the *Observer* of London and the New York *Times* reported on March 17 that data about tens of millions of users had escaped the company's control in 2014 and was likely exploited by Cambridge Analytica in efforts to push Britons to vote their way out of the E.U. and Americans to elect Donald Trump. (The firm has stated it did not break any laws and neither worked on the Brexit referendum nor used the data in any form during the U.S. presidential election.) Then we learned that all of Facebook's users have probably had their public data "harvested" by outsiders at some stage because of ill-conceived product designs. Its stock dropped 20% before bouncing back a bit. And Zuckerberg, famously uncomfortable under the spotlight, was summoned for grilling before both houses of Congress.

In response, Facebook has rushed through reforms at an unprecedented rate. New regulation appears certain, both in the U.S. and in many of the other 190 or so countries where Facebook operates. *(See "Can Congress Rein in Big Tech?" on page 46.)* In all of them, political campaigns use Facebook ads and posts to sway voters. Zuckerberg was emphatic before Congress that he welcomes regulation and that he and the company are willing to help craft it.

Still, how could Facebook have let the way it handles personal data get so out of control? How could a company founded by an idealist reach a point where it's widely accused of putting democracy at risk? How did Facebook end up here?

The answer, I believe, lies in that ambivalence about the company's status as a business, an ambivalence that has existed since its founding. Is Facebook's purpose humanitarian, to make the world

Zuckerberg and Sandberg celebrate Facebook's May 18, 2012, IPO, which would come to be seen as a wild success

"more open and connected," as Zuckerberg has said for years? Or does it want to be the most efficient money machine in the history of capitalism? Up until now it has tried to have it both ways. And that has made it hard to avoid trouble.

ONCE FACEBOOK CAUGHT ON, doing something meaningful quickly got expensive. Even so, Zuckerberg hardly prioritized the company's bottom line. According to a recent Facebook post by former board member Don Graham, in 2005, a full year after founding the company, Zuckerberg did not know the difference between revenues and profits. He had hired an advertising team but frequently overruled it when it proposed ads he considered intrusive. When the company was about two years old, he brought on a veteran to run sales and found it necessary to explain, "I don't hate all advertising. I just hate advertising that stinks." A few months later, Sprite offered to pay $1 million to turn Facebook's homepage green for a day. Zuckerberg didn't even consider it.

This all changed when Sheryl Sandberg, a master advertising strategist responsible for much of Google's advertising platform, joined the company in March 2008. She wrote a question in big letters on a whiteboard at the front of the room where executives had gathered for brainstorming sessions: "WHAT BUSINESS ARE WE IN?" Sandberg had no doubt that Facebook was an advertising gold mine, but she needed support from numerous top leaders at the company who felt otherwise.

Zuckerberg had departed on an around-the-world backpacking trip, deliberately ceding the field so Sandberg could settle in and establish her authority. The reality was that he didn't really want to think that much about how the company would make money. But in traveling alone to the ashram in India where his hero Steve Jobs had found inspiration, he kept discovering more evidence of how much the world needed to get connected.

Sandberg, as chief operating officer, has consistently cared deeply about how the company makes money. That was and is her job. "There has been this myth that everyone's waiting for our revenue model," she told me in 2009, when I was reporting my book *The Facebook Effect*. "But we have the revenue model. The revenue model is advertising. This is the business we're in, and it's working."

Zuckerberg had bequeathed her a data-rich environment, which emerged because users made available to Facebook the information they shared with their friends. It was the first Internet site that people trusted enough to use their real names and identities on. The data they created turned out to be eminently exploitable—particularly if you wish to target specific groups of people to sell products, ideas or political candidates. It was better than anything advertisers had ever seen.

Wall Street analysts expect Facebook to earn more than $21 billion this year after taxes on about $55 billion in revenue, almost all from advertising. That margin of almost 40% makes it the most profitable company of its size in the history of capitalism, and almost twice as profitable per dollar of revenue as Apple. The profits generated by all those ads have funded rapid expansion and growth into almost every country on earth. Facebook now connects about 2.1 billion people, the largest aggregation of humans ever assembled.

It's hard not to conclude that this success is at least one reason why Facebook failed to protect user privacy or take more steps to make it hard to interfere with democratic processes. The company was making heady progress on two distinct but, until now,

PREVIOUS PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: ZEF NIKOLLA—FACEBOOK/BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

mutually beneficial goals: growth (Zuckerberg's obsession) as well as the ad revenue that paid for it (Sandberg's department). Vigilance about security and privacy and controls on speech took a backseat. The serious steps that might have prevented the current crisis would have added cost and delay to their grand accomplishments. Protecting people might also have reduced the amount of time they spent on the service.

TWO DAYS AFTER the 2016 U.S. presidential election, I interviewed Zuckerberg onstage at the Technonomy conference in Half Moon Bay, Calif. I asked him whether he worried that false information planted on his service could have played a role in the unexpected results. "The idea that fake news on Facebook … influenced the election in any way I think is a pretty crazy idea," he said. He has spent much of the subsequent year and a half apologizing for that statement.

Facebook's crisis is one of governance. The company faces excruciating choices in how to manage itself, what to communicate with users, what content to allow or ban and how to deal with governments. In many ways, it is more powerful than those governments, in that its reach expands beyond borders to take in the entire world. And yet this indispensable communications service for humanity operates as a big commercial company.

Zuckerberg was aware of the nature of what he was building for a decade, at least. A year after he hired Sandberg, he told me that one of the reasons he selected her was that he was especially impressed with her experience in government, which he believed would become increasingly relevant to running the company. Sandberg had served as Larry Summers' chief of staff when he was President Bill Clinton's Secretary of the Treasury. "In a lot of ways, Facebook is more like a government than a traditional company," said Zuckerberg. "We're really setting policies." Sandberg proved to be near miraculous at building an ad business, and she is rightly an icon. But whatever she did in governance was clearly inadequate, as she has come to admit.

Make no mistake: Zuckerberg maintained absolute voting control of the company even after it went public. Everything rests on the inclinations and decisions of one 33-year-old. Luckily, he is far from the anxiety-ridden, Machiavellian caricature of the 2010 blockbuster *The Social Network*.

Even as Facebook continued in early 2017 to downplay the significance of Russian manipulation on its service, Zuckerberg surprised many by publishing an extraordinary 5,700-word document, titled "Building Global Community." The manifesto was hardly what you'd expect from the CEO of a mammoth company. It was extraordinarily idealistic about Facebook's opportunity and even obligation to address the challenges facing the world. It talked about reducing the scourge of fake news. It promised to introduce "a large-scale democratic process" inside Facebook, surveying users to enable them to help set standards to govern issues like permissible nudity, profanity or graphic content. (So far this appears not to have happened.) But curiously, it omitted any mention of advertising. It portrayed Facebook almost as if it were an NGO. Nowhere did its founder address how the company would pay for all these efforts or whether it would sacrifice ad revenue to pursue them.

Ambivalence about being a business whose shareholders want it to make ever more money is further manifested in a claim Facebook's leaders have made throughout its history: they insist it is not a media company, even though, along with Google, it is one of the two primary beneficiaries of a systemic shift toward targeted advertising. But that's been a convenient argument for why the company should not be subject to regulation. Zuckerberg allowed a gaping crack to emerge in this long-held axiom when he conceded to Senator John Cornyn of Texas on April 10 that "I agree that we are responsible for the content" on the service.

Some have called Zuckerberg naive, in attempting to explain his privacy oversights, but if so it is a naiveté reinforced by the sense of destiny that comes from making so much money, so quickly. Zuckerberg today is worth almost $67 billion, down from $70 billion before the crisis, but he is still the seventh-richest man on earth. Sandberg has garnered over $1 billion in Facebook stock. The CEO has promised to give away 99% of what he has to the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, a charity he created with his wife Priscilla Chan (which would still leave him with $650 million). The initiative aims, among other things, to "cure all diseases" by 2100. Yet this wealthy idealist seems a bit perplexed that the world is not as good as he would have expected it to be by now. In a recent interview for the *Freakonomics* podcast, he conceded that "the world is today more divided than I would have expected for the level of openness and connection that we have."

2.13 billion
Number of monthly active Facebook users, as of Dec. 31, 2017

87 million
Maximum number of Facebook users whose data could have been obtained by Cambridge Analytica, per company calculations

'In a lot of ways, Facebook is more like a government than a traditional company. We're really setting policies.'

MARK ZUCKERBERG, in 2009

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ALTHOUGH ZUCKERBERG and Sandberg always strive to present a united front, increasingly there appears to be a genuine possibility that their interests could diverge. For 14 years, Zuckerberg has avoided or misunderstood the decision that confronts him now. Which will Facebook optimize for: The privacy and well-being of its users? Or for the continued growth of its profits? How he reconciles that question will determine the future of the company. (A company spokesperson disputed this analysis but declined to comment for this story.)

Since Sandberg arrived, exactly a decade ago, there have been two distinct camps inside Facebook. Zuckerberg still considers himself above all a product person, a code-wielding engineer. Among the product people who report to him, most of them engineers, connecting all of humanity is the holy grail, and "Zuck" is a near god. They consider their top priority to be user growth. This group in some ways thinks of Facebook's "users" as in fact its "customers," and in general views their data as a precious asset that merits respect and care. Revenue and profit are not their concern. To the degree they understand themselves to have erred in creating the current mess, it's because, they think, they were too trusting of people's behavior and intentions.

Then there is the advertising side, under Sandberg's supervision. They are, for all their successes, second-class citizens. They are resolutely focused on building revenue and serving advertisers. These people, most of them concerned with business, strategy or sales, view data as a tool. But for all Sandberg's brilliance, she may find her world-class sales organization restrained by the controversy now raging.

The factions inside the company seem to be evolving a new relationship in real time. Part of the reason the entire crisis spun so far out of control is because for five days after the first reports of the Cambridge Analytica breach, the company issued nothing but reassuring bromides and a few fitful tweets. According to those close to the company, unresolved arguments raged internally about how to respond. According to one well-informed source, those on the product side generally advocated a forthright and contrite stance—after all, it was a product problem that had mostly been fixed. The advertising and marketing teams, by contrast, generally held that the concerns of the press and public were overblown and that the best stance would be to hold tight and concede little until it all blew over.

None of this diminishes the fact that Zuckerberg on repeated occasions has proved himself oblivious or inattentive to user-privacy concerns, or heedless of warnings about threats to democracy. (After all, back in 2007 he was the most ardent advocate for the open and lightly regulated applications that enabled collecting the kind of personal data that made its way to Cambridge Analytica.) He also has to pay the bills somehow. However much ads fail to excite him, he knows they do that best.

ONE OF THE MOST impressive things about Zuckerberg is his capacity to learn and to change, even if belatedly. He is clearly arriving at a new place. Many of his statements before the Senate and House stepped considerably beyond what the company has been previously willing to concede or advocate. Here's how he formally concluded his prepared testimony before the House: "My top priority has always been our social mission of connecting people, building community and bringing the world closer together. Advertisers and developers will never take priority over that as long as I'm running Facebook."

Does that mean he's decided that the customer is the user, not the advertiser? Perhaps. Zuckerberg has repeatedly told investors in the past year that he expects profits will fall considerably as the company spends whatever is necessary to remedy the problems that led to the current crisis. He has estimated that it could take at least two more years to institute reform. That may be conservative. This is likely to be an ongoing, continuous calibration that will eventually lead to a fundamentally different relationship between Facebook and its various constituencies—users, advertisers and governments.

For too long, the maturation of Facebook's management has failed to keep pace with its rise in global influence. Even insiders concede that. By being forced to answer questions he may have previously considered a distraction, Zuckerberg seems, to me, to have matured a great deal over the past few weeks. He is still, as he was when he was toiling in his Harvard dorm room, a true believer. But he is now realizing—by finally confronting the bad and not just marveling about the good—the full scale of what he created. He will take whatever measures he thinks necessary to achieve what he considers "community" and brings people "closer together." For Mark Zuckerberg, buy-in from advertisers may well be less important now than buy-in from the world.

David Kirkpatrick is the author of The Facebook Effect *and founder and CEO of Techonomy Media*

15%
Percentage that Facebook stock fell in the three weeks following the Cambridge Analytica revelations, before Zuckerberg's congressional hearings

$40 billion
Approximate sum of Facebook's 2017 revenue that came from advertising (98% of its total revenue)

60%
Percentage of company voting shares controlled by Zuckerberg

'My top priority has always been our social mission of connecting people.'

MARK ZUCKERBERG, in his April 10 testimony before a joint Senate committee

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CAN CONGRESS REIN IN BIG TECH?

Washington has been happy to let high-tech companies police themselves—until now

BY KATY STEINMETZ

ABOUT TWO HOURS INTO A SENATE HEARING ON April 10, Mark Zuckerberg was asked if he would like to take a break. He was in the midst of a rare spectacle: two powerful committees, with a total of 44 Senators, were holding a joint hearing to grill a single CEO. So when Zuckerberg responded by saying he wasn't tired yet, the packed room broke into laughter. The levity didn't last long. "What happened here was, in effect, willful blindness," said Connecticut Senator Richard Blumenthal, the next at bat, as he pressed the 33-year-old Facebook founder on exactly how a political marketing firm called Cambridge Analytica ended up with data from some 87 million users' profiles without their consent. "It was heedless," he went on, "and reckless."

In Silicon Valley, heedlessness and recklessness have traditionally been seen as virtues—Facebook's early internal rallying cry was "move fast and break things"—and necessary precursors for innovation. But a long-simmering reality check is coming to a head across the high-tech industry. While privacy concerns and even large-scale data breaches are nothing new, experts say the fracas at Facebook has brought the dilemma of increasingly powerful technology into better focus. "Being these networked citizens of the world, it's kind of a struggle, at times, to say why we care about privacy," says Urs Gasser, executive director at Harvard's Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society. "But in this case, there is this element that the data about us is suddenly used to manipulate us in our decisionmaking and somehow mess with our democracy."

The concerns go beyond social networking. Over two days at two hearings in both chambers, members of Congress aired grievances not just about Zuckerberg's company but also the ills of Google and Twitter, the lack of diversity in the industry and the lack of rural fiber-optic cable. In calls for closer scrutiny of firms from Apple to Amazon, some see a coming "techlash." And by the time he appeared on Capitol Hill, Zuckerberg seemed to have grasped that. "As Facebook has grown, people everywhere have gotten a powerful new tool for staying connected," he said. "But it's clear now that we didn't do enough to prevent these tools from being used for harm as well."

During the hearings, Zuckerberg touted changes the company is already making to enhance privacy and transparency. He made promises to root out bad actors, to take responsibility for unsavory content on the platform and to fight meddling in elections that are coming up this year. The unanswered question: Who exactly is going to hold him to it?

ALTHOUGH CONGRESS has been loath to regulate big technology firms, many lawmakers are now arguing that legislation is the answer. "Congress has an obligation in this moment to protect American citizens and national security," Representative Ro Khanna, a Democrat who represents Silicon Valley, tells TIME.

67%
Percentage of Americans who get at least some of their news on social media, according to Pew Research Center

20,000
Approximate number of people who will be working on security and content review at Facebook by the end of 2018, according to Zuckerberg

'I don't want to vote to have to regulate Facebook, but by God, I will.'

SENATOR JOHN KENNEDY, a Republican from Louisiana

TING SHEN—XINHUA/SIPA USA

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg faced intense scrutiny from House and Senate committees

"We can't let that be done, as well-intentioned as they may be, by 30-year-old entrepreneurs."

Legislation was brought up repeatedly at the hearings, but sweeping new laws from Congress remain more of a threat than a promise, especially while the GOP is in charge. The party is deeply allergic to business regulation, and Congress is always playing catch-up to technology, so statutes it writes can quickly become outdated. Many fear that a broad law affecting the tech sector "might end up freezing us in time so the Internet can't develop and people don't feel like they can innovate," says Corynne McSherry, legal director of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, a digital-rights advocacy group. Some lawmakers worry that rules dictating what's allowed online could chill free speech and stifle companies that have created thousands of jobs, as well as extremely useful tools.

Behemoths like Google and Facebook also have influential arms in Washington that can try to convince lawmakers that strict rules aren't necessary, especially if they might compromise some of their constituents' most-used products. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Facebook spent $11.5 million on lobbying in 2017. Alphabet, Google's parent company, spent more than any other single company, at $18 million. The companies and their employees also contributed millions to the campaigns of Democrats and Republicans in 2016. Saying lawmakers should regulate tech, as one Washington veteran put it, is about as simple as saying, "Let's legislate on energy."

At the hearings, Zuckerberg expressed some openness to new rules from Congress. "My position is not that there should be no regulation," he said, while emphasizing that the U.S. needs to debate the nature of the oversight. Ideas being floated for bills range from requirements for greater disclosure in online political advertising to enhanced protections for minors. Many lawmakers are calling for tech companies to rewrite terms-of-service agreements in plain English, so users have a better idea of what bargains they're getting into when they sign up for free services. And industry experts want defaults to be opt-in, so users proactively choose when to share their data. Khanna says he plans to introduce an Internet "bill of rights." Leaving the difficulties of enforcement aside, those principles might include a right to know which companies have data about you, the right to delete that information and the right to be notified when there is a data breach.

Facebook users were getting alerts that their data had been compromised as Zuckerberg headed to Washington, although the breach of trust occurred years before. The company has said the 87 million user profiles were attained by Cambridge Analytica, which had ties to the 2016 election campaign of Donald Trump, because a researcher improperly sold that information after collecting it in 2013 under the auspices of doing academic work.

3,200

Approximate number of words in Facebook's terms of service, which contains dozens of links to more information

THE SCANDAL is bad enough that a bipartisan group of 37 state attorneys general has also launched an inquiry into the matter—which might lead to an update in state laws regarding privacy—as has the Federal Trade Commission, the agency charged with protecting Americans from unfair and deceptive business practices. GOP staffers say that many Republican members will be citing the FTC investigation as a key reason to hold off on legislation, with hopes that America's consumer watchdog will prove it has sufficient authority to keep tech firms in check.

At the hearings, many lawmakers questioned whether Facebook can really change so long as its business model depends on monetizing users' data to sell ads. Some suggested that more competition might lead to better options. Zuckerberg, while defending the model as a means of making the product free and therefore affordable to everyone, suggested he would be open to outside experts' helping to check up on the company's practices. But the billionaire almost always stopped short of offering support for specific proposals, repeating that "the details matter."

The CEO's hedging rubbed some lawmakers the wrong way. "I don't want to vote to have to regulate Facebook, but by God I will," said Senator John Kennedy, a Republican from Louisiana. "You can go back home, spend $10 million on lobbyists and fight us. Or you can go back home and help us solve this problem." ◻

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Time Off

WILD WEST
Actors Evan Rachel Wood and Thandie Newton have found new power in HBO's prescient *Westworld*

INSIDE

THE ROBINSON FAMILY GETS REBOOTED IN NETFLIX'S UPDATED LOST IN SPACE

CHAPPAQUIDDICK *TURNS A CLOSE EYE ON A HISTORIC COVER-UP*

A BUZZY NEW BOOK FLIPS THE ADDICTION MEMOIR ON ITS HEAD

TELEVISION

On *Westworld*, the women take the reins

By Daniel D'Addario

THANDIE NEWTON LIKES TO TAKE THE LEAD. When I meet her, co-star Evan Rachel Wood and *Westworld* co-creator Lisa Joy—three of the HBO show's fierce women—in a Los Angeles hotel suite, I dither about whether we should sit on a sectional sofa or around a table. Newton directs us to the table. "This is serious," she says. "A table creates a kind of boundary. Let's not be on the couch about any of this."

Westworld combines cowboys and robots with high-octane violence and a trippy take on artificial intelligence, but it's also a show with a great deal on its mind. It's among TV's most fiercely feminist visions, a series that subverts traditionally masculine genres like the cowboy serial and the sci-fi mind bender by giving women, well, a seat at the table. The show takes the iconography of the American West—would-be Marlboro Men, on steeds with six-shooters in hand, ready to save the maiden or terrorize her—and flips it. By the end of *Westworld*'s first season, the women have seized control.

The new season (premiering on April 22) takes the show's long-simmering tensions and ignites them. *Westworld,* which began airing before the 2016 election kicked off the current reckoning with sexual assault and misogyny, returns to a world in which the experience of women pushed past their limit has become central to our national conversation. "We're all becoming more awake to that idea right now—the search for truth," says Wood.

And as the show takes its first steps into a new world, it's a provocative statement suited for a moment that is just beginning to dawn. It's a show on the precipice of going from hit to era-defining smash—all thanks to the women at the center of its spectacle.

WATCHING *WESTWORLD* feels unlike watching anything else. Based on a 1973 movie directed by sci-fi maestro Michael Crichton, the show is set at an Old West–themed park and populated by robotic "hosts" who have been programmed to act out a cowpoke pantomime on loop. Guests are allowed to do whatever they want with these bodies: some choose to rescue and save them, while others have more sinister intentions. Scenes shift from the mostly idyllic life of the hosts—which are often interrupted by strange and chaotic outbursts of violence—to the futuristic world of their makers, who attempt to calibrate the robots and keep them in line.

As damsel in distress Dolores and jaded town madam Maeve, Wood and Newton play hosts whose minds are designed to be erased after each encounter. But suddenly, their minds begin holding on to memories of trauma. Their journeys get more attention than do those of the show's men. Stars like Anthony Hopkins, Jeffrey Wright and Ed Harris simply don't have as much to do. They're obstacles, helpers or foils, while the heroines manifest their own destinies. By season's end, Maeve embarks on a quest that promises to take her deeper into the show's universe, while Dolores takes up arms to lead the rebellion, a blue-smocked Liberty leading the humanoids.

Dolores (Wood) is on a mission of vengeance in Westworld *Season 2*

'They were going to subvert incredibly poignant and important themes about how women are represented.'

Thandie Newton

In just one season, *Westworld* has become one of the biggest shows on earth. "There are hundreds of people working every single day," says Joy, who runs the show with her husband, *The Dark Knight* co-screenwriter Jonathan Nolan; J.J. Abrams is another executive producer. The show's visual dazzle is twofold—in its careful reconstruction of the *Gunsmoke* America that lives in our shared imagination, and in its invention of a future where life is conjured by science that looks like magic. *Westworld*'s grandeur has paid off. Its first season was HBO's highest-rated debut ever, and it was nominated for Golden Globes and Emmys for Best Drama, along with nominations for Wood and Newton at both ceremonies.

Westworld brings together mass-appealing spectacle with critical approval—perhaps the first show to do that since network mate *Game of Thrones*. Like that show, *Westworld* gets

much of its story's momentum from nudity and from violence done against women, like when Harris' character drags Dolores into a barn, seemingly to rape her. But such scenes do more than establish stakes; they create the necessary conditions to foment revolution. In her first meeting with Nolan and Joy, over Skype, Newton recalls, "they very eloquently described the vision for the show. They were going to subvert incredibly poignant and important themes about how women are represented, and would I mind being naked while I did it." She said yes.

Joy knows it can be tough for actors to shoot those scenes—especially Wood, who testified before Congress in February about her own experience of sexual assault in efforts to secure an assault survivors' bill of rights. "I do everything I can to make the set a safe place," Joy says. "And if it doesn't feel safe, you have to tell us, and your voice will be heard."

Wood, who has acted since she was a child—her breakthrough was the youth-rebellion drama *Thirteen*—has found meaning in this role. "It comes from a very vulnerable, tortured place," she says. And Newton, an industry veteran with credits including the *Mission: Impossible* franchise and *Crash*, had until *Westworld* been denied opportunities her white counterparts might expect. "I've had a really rough road in the 30 years I've been acting," she says. Newton had been prepared to quit before that Skype call. "I came back into myself as an actress and woman and mother and activist," she says. "Right when I'd given up, I arrived at *Westworld*."

Reckoning with a host

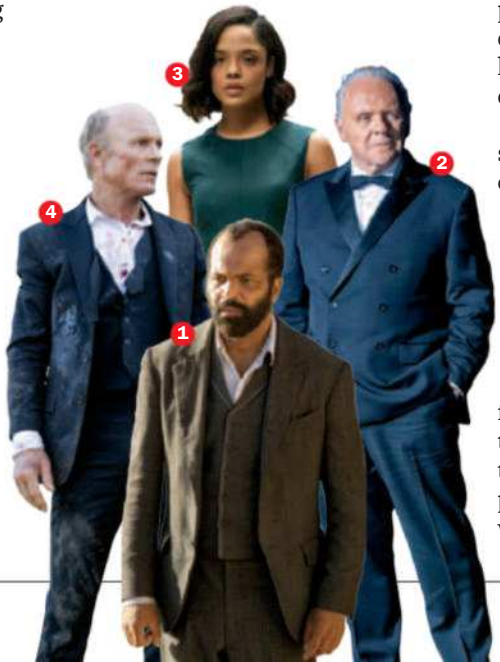
You've met Dolores and Maeve. Here are four other characters who play major roles in the ongoing mystery of *Westworld*.

1. BERNARD LOWE
A programmer of Westworld's hosts, Bernard (Jeffrey Wright) helps Dolores on her journey toward self-discovery. In one of Season 1's most heartbreaking moments, he discovers that he's a host himself.

2. ROBERT FORD
The creative director of the park (Anthony Hopkins), he orchestrates the chaos around him, including a final set piece culminating in his death at Dolores' hand and the rise of the robots.

3. CHARLOTTE HALE
Representing the interests of the corporation running Westworld, Charlotte (Tessa Thompson) is brought in to keep the wayward Robert in check.

4. THE MAN IN BLACK
The park's most devoted visitor (Ed Harris in present day, Jimmi Simpson when shown in flashbacks) has been trying to crack all of Westworld's secrets—and to understand Dolores—for decades.



LIKE OTHER PROJECTS that now seem more resonant thanks to the culture-wide awakening around assault—among them the TV show *The Handmaid's Tale* and the film *Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri*—*Westworld* now feels urgently relevant. Each of those projects was under way before the 2016 election kicked off the current reckoning, and *Westworld* began airing just a month before ballots were cast. The show had already staked out the terrain of a social crisis that only later made headlines. "People say, 'You're so lucky this is so timely,' and I'm like, 'No, this is timeless,'" says Joy. "These are things we have struggled with since time immemorial."

In conversation, Joy takes an empathetic backseat to her stars. As Newton tears up discussing her growing rapport with Wood, I sneak a look at Joy, who's openly crying. Despite all the emotional brinkmanship and re-enactment of violent trauma that Wood and Newton are asked to do, both feel secure throughout. "It's allowing people to see they don't have to be egomaniacs," Newton says. "They don't have to be all about themselves. They can be vulnerable."

"Women are conditioned to be separate, to be pitted against each other," says Wood. "That's conditioning. And that keeps us powerless." On *Westworld*, the power of three creative women compounds itself, gaining emotional and narrative power not just as a response to bad news but also as an examination of what it means to live through trauma, to overcome it and to fight back. Its second season may be less the show to heal us than the show with the vivid imagination to show us what's possible. It's a vision of a future where women don't play by their own rules. They make their own. ☐

PREVIOUS PAGE: RYAN SCHUDE FOR TIME; THESE PAGES: HBO (5)

MOVIES

Complicity and complexity in *Chappaquiddick*

By Stephanie Zacharek

Mara and Clarke in Chappaquiddick: *a disturbing story with many layers*

NOW THAT SO MANY MEN ARE BEING brought to account for past misbehavior, we're all asking questions we never thought to ask before. One that comes up a lot is: What was he thinking? It's early yet, but *Chappaquiddick,* director John Curran's suspenseful, disturbing account of Senator Ted Kennedy's involvement in the 1969 drowning death of 28-year-old campaign worker Mary Jo Kopechne, may be the most *What was he thinking?* movie of 2018. The fact that Harvey Weinstein had a long list of enablers was bad enough. But in 1969, it wasn't an anomaly for a group of powerful men to close ranks around one of their own, making his behavior seem acceptable to the public. It was business as usual.

Curran, working from a script by Taylor Allen and Andrew Logan, pieces together what may very well have happened on Chappaquiddick. Jason Clarke plays the Senator from Massachusetts, who, as the movie opens, is checking on the details for a Friday-night party he's hosting on the Martha's Vineyard island. His cousin and chief fixer Joe Gargan (Ed Helms) makes the arrangements. The guests are a group of young women who had worked on the 1968 campaign of the Senator's late brother Bobby, who had been assassinated the previous year. Ted was fond of these ambitious, politically astute women and wanted to show his appreciation. Their campaign nickname had been "the boiler-room girls," and one of them was Kopechne (played here by a thoughtful, precise Kate Mara).

In the movie's vision, there's a mild possible flirtation between Kopechne and the married Kennedy, though there's no evidence of inappropriate behavior. Impulsively, the two leave the party to drive to the beach—Kopechne leaves her basket-shaped handbag on the table, a small, wrenching detail. Kennedy, clearly driving while drunk, veers off a bridge into a shallow pond, flipping and submerging the car. In a horrifying, split-second shard of a shot, Kopechne's hand reaches out toward Kennedy as the vehicle flies out of his control. There's terror in her eyes.

Within seconds, Kennedy surfaces, distraught, calling Kopechne's name. And then, inexplicably, he trundles off the scene and heads back to the house—not to get help for his friend, but to alert the long-suffering Gargan so he can sort things out. Kennedy doesn't report the incident until late the following morning. In between, he has brunch with some friends.

In 1969, it wasn't an anomaly for a group of powerful men to close ranks around one of their own. It was business as usual

THE REST OF the movie shows how the devious machine established by family patriarch Joe Kennedy—by that point a gnarled, bedridden root vegetable with angry eyes, played here with alarming authenticity by Bruce Dern—pulled off, with Ted's participation, a highly implausible semi-cover-up of the incident, thus saving the Senator's congressional career. (The presidency, of course, remained elusive.)

With *Chappaquiddick,* Curran *(The Painted Veil, Tracks)* walks a tricky line, deftly: Should we feel revulsion for Kennedy, the spoiled overgrown kid whose family cleaned up his messes, or sympathy for the man who was left to carry the staggering legacies of his brothers John and Bobby? Clarke makes us feel plenty of things we'd rather not. His eyes are shadowed with profound decency one minute, and hollowed out in desperate calculation the next.

There's plenty of evidence to suggest that Ted Kennedy, who died in 2009, was both haunted and motivated by his dead brothers' achievements. His congressional record shows a man who fought hard for things he considered just, like the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act and the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. But what if, even more than any supposed family curse, he was haunted by the memory of a woman's face, of what she looked like just before she drowned in a submerged car that he had somehow managed to escape? Although *Chappaquiddick* doesn't address Kennedy's subsequent legislative record, it's the silver-lining storm cloud that hangs over the movie. Human beings can end up doing good things for terrible reasons. How much more convenient it would be if we could just write them off altogether. ◻

POP CHART
***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Rapper Cardi B revealed her baby bump while **performing on *Saturday Night Live,*** confirming her long-rumored pregnancy with fiancé Offset.

A Tribe Called Quest front man Q-Tip will **co-teach a course** at New York University exploring the intersection of jazz and hip-hop.

LOVE IT
LEAVE IT

The Simpsons' attempt to address the controversy surrounding the character of Apu—a conversation between Marge and Lisa about political correctness—was **met with criticism** by some fans who saw the response as dismissive.

A 128-year-old violin that Russell Crowe learned to play for *Master and Commander* **went for $104,000 at an auction** the actor held to help finance his divorce settlement.

CHAPPAQUIDDICK: ENTERTAINMENT STUDIOS; CARDI B: GETTY IMAGES; SIMPSONS: FOX; YOU WERE NEVER REALLY THERE: AMAZON STUDIOS; BEIRUT: BLEECKER STREET

MOVIES

A vital filmmaker returns, with a bold challenge

WHEN MAINSTREAM PUBLICATIONS AND WEBSITES draw up encouraging lists of female filmmakers who are currently working, they often neglect the formidable Scottish director Lynne Ramsay. Ramsay has made only a handful of films since her abrasively resplendent 1999 debut, *Ratcatcher,* but you can always count on her to challenge and to confound.

In that vein, Ramsay's disquieting and skillfully crafted thriller *You Were Never Really Here*—adapted from a novella by Jonathan Ames—doesn't let us off the hook. Joaquin Phoenix stars as Joe, a bedeviled military veteran who makes a living rescuing and returning missing girls. When he's assigned to find the daughter of a Senator, a preternaturally sage wraith named Nina (Ekaterina Samsonov), he ends up achieving a kind of redemption, though it's hard-earned. The essence of Phoenix's performance comes through in the half-lit glow of his eyes; it's as if there's electricity running beneath his skin, but barely.

While some of the story's plot elements are sordid and unsavory, most of the violence occurs off-camera; Ramsay is more interested in the aftereffects of brutality, though even her grisliest tableaux have a kind of serrated elegance. When she shows us a brazen, heroic rescue, it's through the lens of a surveillance camera, in grainy footage drained of color. That device makes us look, hard, but it also deglamorizes any of the savagery we might detect in the corners of the screen.

By now you may be asking, why pay good money to see a movie that only enhances whatever feelings of dislocation we may already have? The movie's lean, expressive score, by Radiohead's Jonny Greenwood, is intense by itself: if the smell of burned rubber had a sound, it would be this. *You Were Never Really Here* is a demanding film, but it's not a reckless one. To watch it is to see a rigorous and intensely creative filmmaker at work. No wonder Ramsay's name doesn't make it onto a lot of female-director lists. Her work defies the concept of cheerleading, or of special pleading. She's a list unto herself. —S.Z.

Phoenix and Samsonov: never really here, yet totally present

MOVIES

Beirut raises questions it can't answer

There's probably no clean, organized way to make a drama that opens in Beirut in 1972 and circles back to that city a decade later, after its landscape has been drastically changed by years of civil war. Perhaps that's why *Beirut,* directed by Brad Anderson *(The Machinist, Transsiberian),* with a screenplay by Tony Gilroy (writer of *Michael Clayton*), doesn't quite work. The plot takes so many twists and is so complicated by labyrinthine international affairs of state that it's easy for the viewer to get lost. You also get the feeling that certain sociopolitical complexities have been ignored or elided.

But if you can think of *Beirut* simply as a standard thriller, the lead performances are satisfying enough: Jon Hamm plays a U.S. diplomat who was stationed in the city in calmer times—he left, in despair, after his wife was killed by terrorists, only to be forced to return years later to save an endangered friend. Rosamund Pike plays a clever, indecipherable CIA employee, the cat to Hamm's mouse. Or might it be the other way around? If you focus on the acting alone, it's fun to watch these two circle each other—but the movie around them doesn't bring us any closer to the heart of this aggrieved city. —S.Z.

TELEVISION

Lost in Space gets retooled for modern anxieties

By Alex Fitzpatrick

Lost in Space *reboots a sci-fi classic to explore our fears about technology*

THANKS TO SHOWS LIKE *WESTWORLD*, *Black Mirror* and *Star Trek: Discovery* earning both legions of fans and widespread critical acclaim, we may be living in a golden age of science-fiction television. Its popularity is understandable, given our collective anxiety about all manner of potential technological terrors—artificial intelligence and robots (and the combination of the two!) not least among them. Netflix attempts to tap into that trend with *Lost in Space* (debuting April 13), a modern reincarnation of the beloved 1960s camp classic centered around a robot's relationship with humans.

As with the original, Netflix's *Lost in Space* deals with the Robinson family, who leave a doomed Earth to join a colonist mission to Alpha Centauri. Their ship is compromised along the way, and the Robinsons evacuate to an unknown world. It's there that the young Will Robinson (Maxwell Jenkins), a brilliant but skittish tween, bonds with an alien robot capable of remarkable feats. While the "Robot" appears to do his bidding, Will doesn't know exactly how to control it—and nobody is sure whether to trust it.

In that way, the "Robot" becomes a walking metaphor for our struggle with modern technology. We may have doubts about Silicon Valley's endless thirst for our personal data, or whether it's a good idea to let driverless cars roam the streets. But we feel largely powerless against Big Tech, so we accept its increasingly invasive presence in our lives and move on, even as that little voice in our head cautions, "Danger, Will Robinson!"

The Robinsons aren't reliant on technology to perform their own feats of brilliance. As trained space settlers, the family members have already passed physical and mental tests, and possess special skills: one is an astronomer, another a medic, still another a military man. That leads the early episodes to lean on the repeated stunts of geniuses saving other geniuses, which threatens to wear thin pretty quickly.

But the show gets more intriguing as it reveals the Robinsons are not as perfect as we are first led to believe. It is further rescued by a pair of characters outside the Robinson family who, while crafty enough, have not passed the tests to become colonists. Among them is Dr. Smith (Parker Posey), a pathological master of self-preservation whose machinations jeopardize all those around her. Played by fan favorite Jonathan Harris in the original series, the scene-stealing Posey more than does the character justice.

It's too soon to say whether *Lost in Space* will be TV's next great sci-fi spectacle. The show is trying to balance family drama with science fiction, a challenging task. In its first episodes, *Lost in Space* spends too much time on the former to be truly satisfying for fans of the latter. But the show seems to be headed in the right direction. If it doesn't get lost along the way, that is. □

What I'm streaming now

By Daniel D'Addario

The Handmaid's Tale

The first season of Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale* followed one story fairly closely: June (Elisabeth Moss), a book editor and mother, ends up enslaved as society collapses into misogynistic theocracy. The season, based on Margaret Atwood's novel, ended where the book did, with June riding into an unknown future, facing

BOOKS

Paper planes

It used to be a perfectly adequate joke, provided there was a French person in the room: "Yours is the language of love. Mine is the language of international civil aviation."

But the Pultizer-winning poet Gregory Pardlo has erased any distinction between the two with a memoir, *Air Traffic,* that declaims anguished, filial love from a childhood delaminated by the PATCO strike of 1981. Pardlo's father was one of the air-traffic controllers whom Ronald Reagan fired, knocking their African-American family out of the middle class and "Big Greg" deeper into the pathology that crowds the lives of others. In the mirror his son fashions, the father's grandiosity acts as the backing that makes reflection possible: "Whereas he wanted from me a show of gratitude, I studied him. He interpreted my scrutiny as insubordination." If parts of the book's second half feel like essays, there's clearly something about memoir (think Mary Karr) that suits a poet. The first half feels like a classic. —*Karl Vick*

LOST IN SPACE: NETFLIX; PARDLO: BEOWULF SHEEHAN; THE HANDMAID'S TALE: HULU

BOOKS

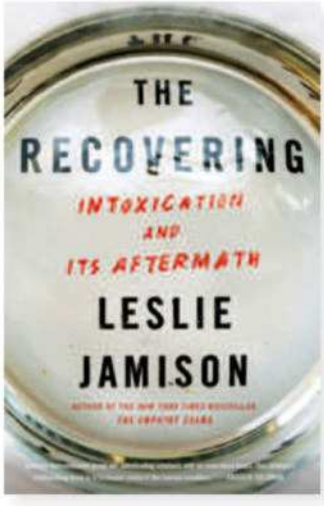
An addiction memoir bigger than its addict

ADDICTION MEMOIR IS A GENRE WITH SO many tropes—sordid tales of excess and despair tidily resolved by a redemptive ending—that it's difficult to imagine how a writer could do anything fresh with it. Yet that's the remarkable feat Leslie Jamison manages in her book *The Recovering: Intoxication and Its Aftermath,* which seamlessly blends the story of her own alcoholism and subsequent recovery with something like a social, cultural and literary history of addiction.

Jamison, whose 2014 collection of essays *The Empathy Exams* showed her prodigious gifts as a writer, works in a form that's both sprawling and dense as she toggles between her own story and the stories of others—both the luminaries whose books she studied as a student, like Raymond Carver and Denis Johnson, and the ordinary people she encountered in her recovery. It's a neat trick: she satisfies readers who want the grisly details that addiction memoirs promise while dismantling that same genre, interrogating why tales of addiction prove so resonant. At the same time, she wrestles with her own obsessive introspection: "I was so self-absorbed, there should have been a different word for what I was," she writes. "Of course I would have loved that, if there had been a different word for what I was."

Jamison is a bracingly smart writer; her sentences wind and snake, at turns breathless and tense. She charts the seductive pleasures of liquor like nobody since Caroline Knapp in her extraordinary memoir *Drinking: A Love Story* (1996). When Jamison recounts the "velvet apathy" of being drunk, it's shot through with real yearning. "Booze let me live inside moments without the endless chatter of my own self-conscious annotation," she writes. "It was like finally going on vacation somewhere beautiful without having to pose for photographs the whole time."

The title is no mistake; Jamison, now eight years sober, writes candidly and specifically about recovery and sobriety, both the surprising pleasures and white-knuckle miseries, which further differentiates her from so many other writers who have documented their addictions. It's likely that the genre continues to flourish, even in its least compelling forms, because addiction is so confounding: Why would anyone behave so self-destructively? Addiction resists causality; so does Jamison. "All these tales of why are true and also insufficient," she writes of the factors that contributed to her drinking. Instead of solving the mystery of why she drank, she does something worthier, digging underneath the big emptiness that lives inside every addict to find something profound. —SAM LANSKY



either liberation or death.

In Season 2, new stories—plural—begin. We find out what happened to June, but we also see different corners of the new society of Gilead, from the Colonies, where uncooperative women are sent to perform hard labor, to worshippers of other faiths, practicing in secret. Rendered with care and cunning, the society's fringes and its origins fulfill the show's early promise.

The Emmy- and Golden Globe–winning series was an out-of-the-box sensation. But its success seemed at times due more to newsy relevance than the show's own merits; wringing entertainment from an uncinematic novel, *The Handmaid's Tale* could be sloppily plotted and tonally incoherent. Building a world beyond June's first-season captivity has forced the show to up its game. In Season 2, June, outside her captor's house, is forced to be scrappier. The show, taking on the challenge of depicting an entire world, is scrappier too, and better for it.

HOW TO WATCH
The Handmaid's Tale Season 2 will stream on Hulu starting April 25

Lester Holt The NBC *Nightly News* anchor on a difficult presidential debate, the Comey firing scoop and finding a home in broadcast history

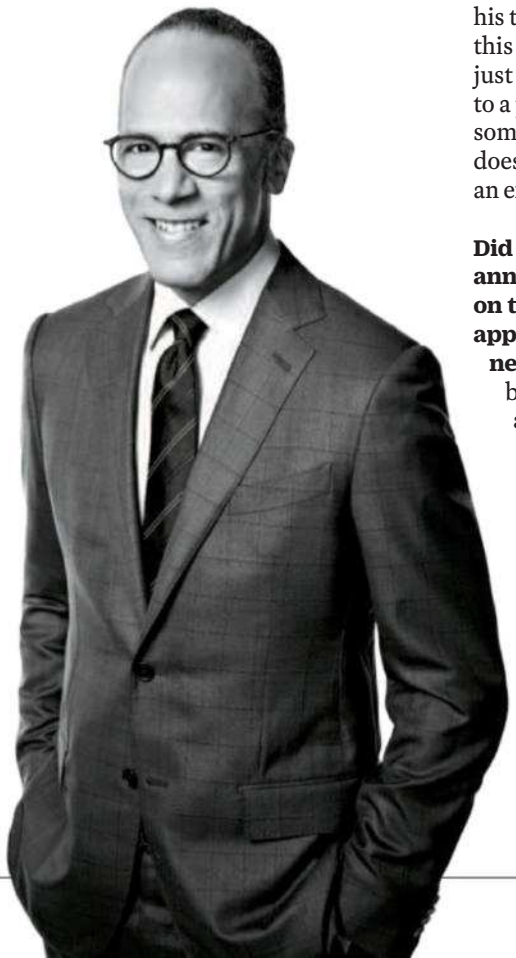
You went to Memphis to cover the 50th anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. Do you think a figure like King could rise in our current media climate? A lot of organizations control their own media; they can Facebook Live. So that's obviously a challenge for how we cover things. But I was reminded, covering the anniversary, that the movement was bigger than one person, because otherwise it wouldn't have survived.

You remarked recently that you told the presidential debate commission to "lose your number" after you moderated the first Trump-Clinton debate in 2016. Why? It was tongue-in-cheek. It was the most difficult thing I've ever done professionally or maybe even personally. There were several deep breaths at the end of it. Sometimes things like that you have to take a step back from, and now I say, Well, that was pretty cool. It was difficult to read the email the next day, because it was split. It was like, "Awesome job, terrific job." "You're a loser, you're pathetic!" But it was part of the process. I knew going in: not everyone's going to love you.

You were honored by the White House Correspondents' Association this month for your interview with the President in which he talked about his decision to fire James Comey. What's your secret to getting scoops? My general philosophy of doing interviews is polite but persistent. I don't have an ax to grind in this, but I do have the responsibility to represent my viewers, who have a lot of questions. People say to me, "I hope you get him!" I don't do that. I just want to talk to people and ask them. And if they don't give an answer, I want to ask them again.

You came into your job under unusual circumstances—after Brian Williams left the desk under controversial circumstances.

"IT'S ONLY RECENTLY I'VE FELT LIKE I'M TOTALLY IN SYNC WITH THE DIRECTION OF THE BROADCAST"



Was it challenging to gain viewers' trust? The first night that the announcer said "NBC *Nightly News* with Lester Holt," there was probably an audible gulp right before I said "Good evening," because these are important broadcasts, and I watched them growing up. A lot of what got me through it was the things that people had written to me and tweeted and put on Facebook. I'm continuing to grow into the job. It's only recently I've felt like I'm totally in sync with the direction of the broadcast.

One of your sons is an anchor at New York City's NBC affiliate. Do you give him tips? I was fully supportive. I love what I do, and I want good, bright people who are curious to get into this business. I was very proud that he wanted to do it. When he got his first job, at a market in Florida, I would look at his tapes, and say, "Don't put your hands this way, do this, do that." I realized I was just making him crazy, so we have come to a place where I help him navigate some of the issues of the business, but he doesn't need my advice in terms of being an excellent communicator.

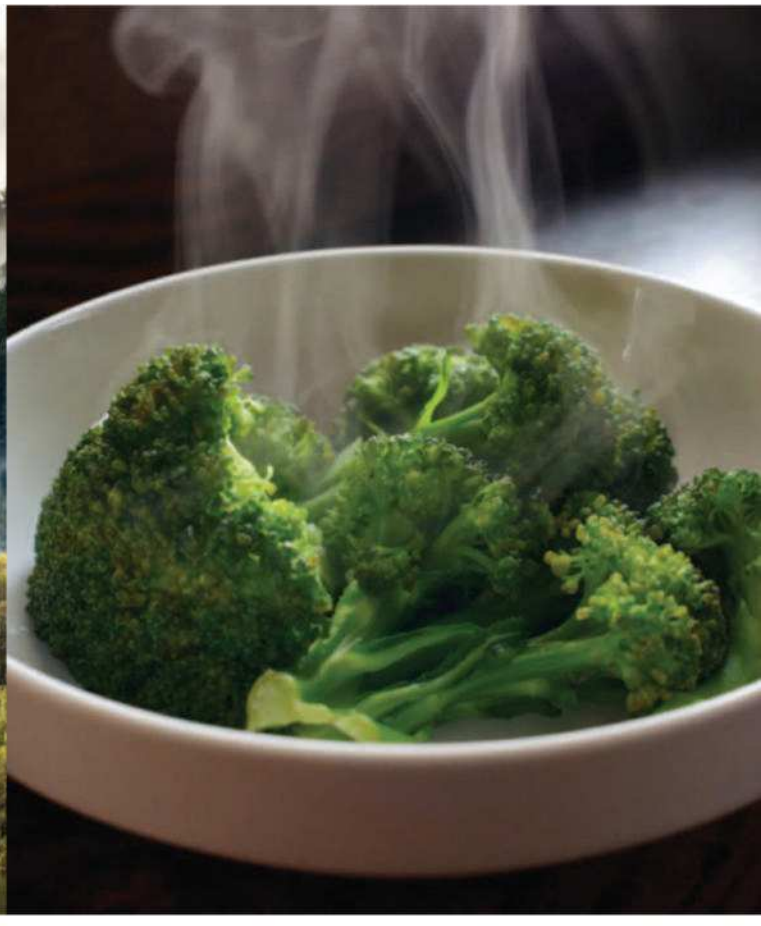
Did reporting on the King anniversary change your perspective on the milestone nature of your appointment as the first black network news anchor? We all have to be reminded of where we came from and how we got here and the doors that were opened up. Certainly as an African American, those doors were opened up through a lot of sacrifice. It's reminded me of the shoulders that I stand on, that I had the opportunity to do whatever I wanted in life. I think what's really made me focus on the impact of this role at this time is the number of people who have reached out about their children, children of color, who watch me. That's the stuff that comes full circle.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

HOLT: COURTESY NBC

The Nature Conservancy

EARTH DAY 2018



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